THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL

ROBERT E. PARK

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Harper & Brothers Publishers

AMERICANIZATION STUDIES
ALLEN T. BURNS, DIRECTOR

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL

BY
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HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE material in this volume was gathered by the Division of the Immigrant Press of Studies of Methods of Americanization.

Americanization in this study has been considered as the union of native and foreign born in all the most fundamental relationships and activities of our national life. For Americanization is the uniting of new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should perpetuate no unchangeable political, domestic, and economic regime delivered once for all to the fathers, but a growing and broadening national life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best through a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the common weal. This study has followed such an understanding of Americanization.

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FOREWORD

THIS volume is the result of studies in methods of Americanization prepared through funds furnished by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It arose out of the fact that constant applications were being made to the Corporation for contributions to the work of numerous agencies engaged in various forms of social activity intended to extend among the people of the United States the knowledge of their government and the obligations to it. The trustees felt that a study which should set forth, not theories of social betterment, but a description of the methods of the various agencies engaged in such work, would be of distinct value to the cause itself and to the public.

The outcome of the study is contained in eleven volumes on the following subjects: Schooling of the Immigrant; The Press; Adjustment of Homes and Family Life; Legal Protection and Correction; Health Standards and Care; Naturalization and Political Life; Industrial and Economic Amalgamation; Treatment of Immigrant Heritages; Neighborhood Agencies and Organization; Rural Developments; and Summary. The entire study has been carried out under the

general direction of Mr. Allen T. Burns. Each volume appears in the name of the author who had immediate charge of the particular field it is intended to cover.

Upon the invitation of the Carnegie Corporation a committee consisting of the late Theodore Roosevelt, Prof. John Graham Brooks, Dr. John M. Glenn, and Mr. John A. Voll has acted in an advisory capacity to the director. An editorial committee consisting of Dr. Talcott Williams, Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, and Dr. Edwin F. Gay has read and criticized the manuscripts. To both of these committees the trustees of the Carnegie Corporation are much indebted.

The purpose of the report is to give as clear a notion as possible of the methods of the agencies actually at work in this field and not to propose theories for dealing with the complicated questions involved.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book may be regarded as a sequel to the volume *Old World Traits Transplanted.* That was, substantially, a study of Immigrant Communities and the cultural institutions which immigrant peoples have created in this country. This is a more detailed investigation of a single institution—the Immigrant Press. The volumes supplement one another.

The immigrant press is interesting from many points of view, but mainly from the light which its history and its contents throw upon the inner life of immigrant peoples and their efforts to adjust themselves to a new cultural environment. In order to make this study a faithful reflection of this life, it has been necessary to collect materials from a multitude of obscure sources, and over a wide area of human life. It is inevitable that mistakes of judgment as well as of fact should be made in selecting and interpreting this material. However inadequate the picture presented may turn out to be, it could not be as complete and as accurate as it is if the author had not had, in its preparation, the good will and assistance of more persons than it is possible to name.

The editors of this volume are indebted to William H. Lamar, solicitor of the Post Office Department, for permission to consult the files of foreign-language papers in the Post Office Department, to the Foreign Language Information Service, to the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, and N. W. Ayer & Son or information in regard to foreign-language publications.

INTRODUCTION

This volume is indebted to A. S. Freidus, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, to Abraham Cahan, editor of the *Forward*, to Peter Wiernik, editor of the *Jewish Morning Journal*, and to Mark Villchur, editor of the *Russkoye Slovo* for information in regard to the Jewish press; and to Shiko Kusama, of the Japanese Association of California, for facts in regard to the Japanese press.

But this volume is particularly indebted to Winifred Rauschenbusch, whose assistance in the preparation of it has been invaluable.

ROBERT E. PARK.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
October 11, 1921.

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL

Part I

SOIL FOR THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL

I

WHY THERE IS A FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

THERE were, in the year 1919, forty-three or forty-four languages and dialects spoken by the immigrant peoples of the United States. It is not easy to make exact distinction, because there are certain forms of speech like the Ladin and Romansh, spoken in the Italian Alps, which may be regarded either as dialects or as separate languages. Actually, the Ladin and Romansh represent forms of the ancient Latin, less modified than Italian. The Romansh, moreover, unlike the Ladin, is still a literary language, and in the canton of Grisons is officially recognized, together with German and Italian. There are other languages, like the Hebrew, which has been a dead language for more than two thousand years, although it still is spoken by Jewish Talmud scholars, has an extensive modern literature, and just now, under the influence of the Zionist movement, is undergoing a revival both in America and Europe.

Among the Jewish people Hebrew occupies the position that Latin did among the peoples of Europe during the Middle Ages. It is the language of religion and of learning. Every

Jewish boy is expected to know Hebrew, enough, at least, to read his prayers. It is the literary language of the Jewish race and the medium of communication among scholars. All of them read it; many of them speak it. It is proposed to make it the language of the Jewish people of Palestine when that homeland of the race has been redeemed.[1]

The *Jewish Encyclopedia* of 1905 reports that of 1,059 Jewish periodicals published in all languages and countries, 199 were in Hebrew.

Among the minor language groups in America are representatives of the forgotten peoples of Europe, such as the Russo-Carpathians living on the borders of southern Czechoslovakia, the Catalonian rebels of eastern Spain, and the Wends.

Another fact that makes the definition and enumeration of languages and dialects difficult is the existence in Europe of what may be designated as twilight zones, where dialects and languages shade off imperceptibly into one another. These regions are usually areas open to interracial intercourse and communication. Where the speech of the common people is not reënforced by education in the schools, and is not the language of the Church or of the press, language breaks down into local dialects; differences of speech are washed out and eventually disappear.

> The peasants themselves [in the Ukraine] understand one another without difficulty, though their dialects vary much from one another, shading off at places into Polish, at places into Slovak, at places into Russian. A gramophone record of a folk tale, taken in the region of the Kuban Cossacks on the shores of the Black Sea, is said to be perfectly intelligible in the vicinity of Przemysl. But, though the peasants know that their language is different from Great Russian, and though a Great Russian is treated as a stranger in their village, it may be doubted whether their political consciousness

[1] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix.

has gone much beyond this point. When questioned as to their nationality, they are apt, unless they have been otherwise instructed by the *intelligentsia*, to reply, incontinently, "Orthodox." [1]

HUMAN ASSOCIATION BASED ON LANGUAGE

The thing which makes these distinctions of dialect and speech important is the fact that mother tongue is the natural basis of human association and organization. The World War, which filled Europe with the clamor of insurgent nationalities, has made it evident that the old political boundaries did not include homogeneous populations. On the other hand, the war has revealed the fact that, within the old political boundaries, Europe was organized on the basis of languages, and of the memories and traditions which these languages preserved. It is significant, also, that when other bonds broke, language and tradition held. The nationalities which in the break-up of Europe have gained their independence are all language groups, not races.

It is quite evident that nationality and language are independent of race, and, in fact, the meaning of the word "race" as used not only by the man in the street, but also by the historian, is based on the spoken language. So far as race is concerned in its scientific sense, there exists no such thing as a "Latin," a "Celtic," a "German," a "Slavic," or even an "Aryan" or "Caucasian" race. These are linguistic terms, and are not correlated to bodily characters.[2]

In America, as in Europe, it is language and tradition, rather than political allegiance that unites the foreign populations. People who speak the same language find it convenient to live together.

---

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, pp. 133–134.

[2] Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, New York, 1917. Introduction by Madison Grant, p. xvi.

There is always a more or less strongly marked tendency among aliens speaking a foreign language to congregate in groups in the country or in certain wards of large towns and cities, and out of this tendency springs a sort of clannishness which cannot be avoided, and which is not peculiar to any class, for the immigrants naturally follow the lines of least resistance. They go to those whom they know, to those whose speech they can understand, to those from whose experience they may draw large drafts of suggestion and help. But this clannishness with the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes has been but a stage in their evolution out of which, through the gates of the English language, public schools, naturalization, and increased prosperity, they have passed to broader relations.[1]

The reciprocal feeling of repulsion shows itself especially in the tendency of different nationalities to draw apart. The phenomenon is familiar enough in the tenement districts, but the same thing occurs, for instance, in a Texas country town, where I found that the Germans and Bohemians, who were the main inhabitants, seemed to mix as little as oil and water. Each of these two nationalities had its own separate public school; in the one, named Germania, both English and German were taught; in the Bohemian school, English only, Bohemian not being permitted by the authorities (county or state, I do not know which). The Americans who used to live in the place had, most of them, moved away. There seemed to be no friction, only a desire not to mingle. One constantly runs across this fact that the old settlers tend to withdraw as soon as they begin to be irked by a foreign atmosphere.[2]

MAGNITUDE OF THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

Our great cities, as we discover upon close examination, are mosaics of little language colonies, cultural enclaves,

[1] C. H. Babcock, "The Scandinavian Element, Religious and Intellectual Standpoint," in *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, 1914, p. 111.

[2] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 1910, p. 410.

each maintaining its separate communal existence within the wider circle of the city's cosmopolitan life. Each one of these little communities is certain to have some sort of co-operative or mutual aid society, very likely a church, a school, possibly a theater, but almost invariably a press. In the city of New York, at any rate, there is, so far as can be learned, no language group so insignificant that it does not maintain a printing press and publish some sort of periodical.

The Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Czechs, Croatians, Danes, Finns, French, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Levantine Jews, Letts, Lithuanians, Magyars, Persians, Poles, Portuguese, Rumanians, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Spanish, the Swabians of Germany, the Swedes, Swiss, Syrians of New York City, all have a press. The Hindu and Turkish press have only gone out of existence since the war. There is the Hebrew press, which represents a class rather than a language group. There are also language colonies in New York like the Assyrians, Belgians, Dutch, Esthonians, Flemish, Norwegians, the Spanish of Catalonia, Uhro-Russians, Welsh, and Wends, which have a press outside the city.

Although there are not facts to justify a positive statement, it seems probable that more foreign-language newspapers and periodicals are published and read in the United States, in proportion to the foreign-born population, than are published in the home countries in proportion to the native born. This is certainly true in some instances. The following article was based on data received from readers of *Russkoye Slovo*, who were asked to answer a questionnaire published in that paper:

Peasants and laborers constitute more than 90 per cent of all the Russian immigrants in the United States. According

to the census of 1910, there are 38.4 per cent illiterate among the Russians above fourteen years of age. But even those who are able to read rarely saw newspapers in Russia, and theaters were out of their reach. The Russian village from which the majority of immigrants came had no press and no theater.

Out of 312 correspondents only 16 have regularly read newspapers in Russia; 10 others used from time to time to read newspapers in the *volost*, the village administrative center; 12 were subscribers to weekly magazines.

In America all of them are subscribers or readers of Russian newspapers. *Two hundred of them are theatergoers, and all are visiting the "movies."*

Twenty-five per cent of them read also the American newspapers published in the English language. But some mention the fact that they "understand only one word out of five." Others, buying an American daily, just glance over the headlines. "These are easy to understand, and you know all the news," writes one of the correspondents.

The question whether they like American newspapers or not is answered negatively by the majority of Russian readers. Some complain that the newspapers are *too local* in their character. A newspaper in some city like Willimantic is 90 per cent a local paper, and to it the affairs of Willimantic are of more importance than the all-American and the world problems. The Russian readers are used to seeing even in their provincial press an expression of the world's thought. . . . Generally, the responses to the questionnaire paint a picture of a cultural success of the Russians in America. Immigrants from the governments of Grodno, Minsk, and Volyn write that *at home they used newspapers as cigarette papers*, while here they became regular readers of periodicals. An interest in the press creates an interest in the book, in the theater, and the whole outlook of the Russian in America widens. Not only his own interests, the interests of his family and of his circle, become near and dear to him, but also the

problems of his country, of the republic in which he resides, and, gradually, of the whole wide world.[1]

POPULARITY BASED ON SENTIMENT AND NEED

The popularity of the foreign-language press is due to various causes. One reason why immigrants are eager to read their own language in this country is that they have not been permitted to do so in their own. Sometimes they have not learned to read before they come here; have not been permitted to do so. Sometimes the journals they might have read were not interesting or not intelligible. Frequently the "oppressed and dependent" peoples of Europe were not allowed to publish journals in their own languages. Immigrants who have struggled for the right to print and read their native languages at home are bound to have sentimental views in regard to the press which prints their language in America.

One reason why immigrant peoples read more in America than they do at home is because there is more going on that they need to know. There is more novelty and more news.

News is a kind of urgent information that men use in making adjustments to a new environment, in changing old habits, and in forming new opinions. The very helplessness of the immigrant, to which Miss Emily Balch refers in her study of the Slavic immigrant in America, is a measure of the novelty of the American environment and the immigrant's lack of adjustment to it.

> His helplessness makes him sought for as prey by sharpers and grafters; it is all that the immigration officials can do to keep them off as he lands. As soon as he leaves the pater-

[1] Mark Villchur, article in the *Russkoye Slovo*, New York City, June 10, 1919.

nal care of Ellis Island they attack in force. Boarding-house runners, shady employment agents, sellers of shoddy wares, extortionate hack drivers, and expressmen beset his way. One hears all sorts of stories of abuses from both Americans and Slavs—of bosses who take bribes to give employment or to assign good chambers in the mine, of ill usage at the hands of those who should be officers of justice, of arrests for the sake of fees, of unjust fines, of excessive costs paid rather than incur a greater expense. The litigiousness of the Slavs is exploited by "shyster" lawyers till the immigrants learn wisdom by experience.[1]

Most immigrants have been peasants at home. In the little, isolated peasant villages from which they came, life was, and is still, relatively fixed and settled. Custom and tradition provided for all the exigencies of daily life. Conduct was based on face-to-face relationships—that is to say, speech and neighborly gossip. In America they are likely to be laborers, participating more or less in the turbulent cosmopolitan life of our modern industrial cities. Here, where there are vast distances and no traditions, where the population is mobile and everything is in process, the peasants discard their habits and acquire "ideas."

In America, above all, the immigrants organize. Their organizations are the embodiment of their new needs and their new ideas. They become Socialists or nationalists, or members of fraternal organizations, and read papers, because practically every immigrant organization publishes some sort of paper.

Closely connected with the societies are the newspapers, which also have attained a surprising development here. Among the Slovaks, and perhaps among some other nationalities, the circulation of papers in their own language is greater in America than it is at home, where the press of a discon-

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 1910, pp. 418–419.

tented nationality has to meet every sort of political hindrance. . . .

The Slavic-American press represents, of course, very divergent points of view. Many of the papers are conducted by priests for purposes of edification; some are political, of which a part are labor and Socialist sheets; and a substantial number find *raison d'être* and support as organs of certain of the societies. Of this type are *Zgoda*, organ of the Polish National Alliance, with a circulation of about 55,000, or the *Organ Bratstva*, organ of the C. S. P. S., which is published by the Supreme Lodge of the society at the rate of forty cents a month to each member, and which prints at the beginning of each month the list of deaths and the consequent assessment. . . .

Some of these publications, especially the monthlies, are literary reviews; others are comic sheets; while others, again, serve special interests, as, for instance, the Sokol papers, the Polish *Harmonia*, the *Polsky Farmer*, and the Bohemian *Hospodar* (Farmer).

One paper, the *Zenske Listy*, of Chicago, is the organ of a woman's society, and is printed as well as edited by women. It is not devoted to "beauty lessons" and "household hints," but to efforts toward women's suffrage and the "uplifting of the mental attitude of working women." Its 6,000 subscribers include distinguished Bohemians all over the country, men as well as women.[1]

In addition to every other reason for the existence of a foreign-language press is its value to the immigrant, in satisfying his mere human desire for expression in his mother tongue. In the language of most of us there are two vocabularies. One of these is made up of words that are idiomatic, personal, and expressive. It is the language of everyday life, mother tongue in the narrow sense of that term. The other is made up of words that are more formal, more precise, perhaps, but less expressive.

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 1910, pp. 383–384.

It is much easier to acquire the formal language of a people than it is their more expressive idioms. Consequently, for most immigrants their native tongue must always be their "mother tongue." Even if they learn the idiom of our language and it becomes for them a storehouse of new associations and memories, the earlier memories are bound up with the earlier language. That is the reason, no doubt, that Carl Schurz wrote the first volume of his autobiography in German rather than English.

> The national language is the poor man's literature and folklore, it is his history and tradition, it reflects what he knows of his own country and of the outer world, it is his fund of music and song, it is the repertory of his prayers, it is the source of his wise maxims; in it he gives vent to his feelings, to his hopes and fears; in it he hears words of consolation and encouragement from his friends; and in it the minister of his religion soothes his soul in its passage to eternity. He teaches that language to his children, not by any system of pedagogy, but in the school of nature and parental affection, with the infant pupil reclining on his breast and the tender hands stroking his rugged cheek. But in teaching that language he makes his infant child a denizen of an empire that embraces the past and present; he makes him heir to the thought, the wisdom, the imagination, the melody of his ancestors; he supplies him with a medium in which he can continue the interrupted conversation of those that went before him, add to their store of wisdom, and revel in their sallies of wit and humor; and all this in as kindly and natural a manner as if long generations of his forefathers still inhabited the earth, and sang their songs, and repeated their words of wisdom in his ear.[1]

As long as there are people in this country who have common racial or nationalist interests, they will have

[1] Rev. P. S. Dineen, *Lectures on the Irish Language Movement*, 1904, p. 12.

papers to interpret events from their own peculiar point of view. So there is, in America, an Irish press, a Jewish press, and a Negro press, not to mention others, published in English. There is a Canadian, Louisianan, and cosmopolitan press published in French. There is a Spanish-American, South American, and Mexican press, all published in Spanish. The press has become an organ of speech. Every group has its own.

II

EUROPEAN BACKGROUNDS OF THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

LARGE numbers of Europeans, chiefly of the peasant peoples, from which most of our immigrants come, have never seen, in their own country, books, newspapers, or any other reading matter printed in the language they are accustomed to speak, the only one they fully understand. This is true because the written language, the language of the educated classes, has differed widely from the folk vernacular. Either the influential classes, from scholastic interest and as a badge of superiority, have developed a standard form of the race language for literary purposes; or a conquering race, which supplied the ruling classes, has used its own tongue for written and official communication.

This latter form of monopoly has been consciously fostered by conquering races in the interest of political solidarity. In many cases, in fact, where subject peoples have attempted to print books and papers in their vernaculars, the conquerors have forcibly suppressed these efforts. In either case the result has been the same: a literary language has grown up that is the exclusive property of the dominant classes, and the press consequently has been unintelligible to the majority of the population.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE READING HABIT

The average man rarely masters any language but the one he speaks. When the book language that he learns

at school differs widely from the vernacular, he reads very little. When books and papers are printed in a language totally different from the one he uses in everyday life, probably he does not read at all.

When a man does not read he can secure the ideas of other men only by word of mouth. When the majority of people over a wide area lack the reading habit, facts about the outside world, or ideas current in it, have little chance of seeping through to the average man. His mind is imprisoned in his parish or commune. Intellectual backwardness inevitably results.

DIVERGENCE OF WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGE

There is everywhere a clear distinction between the written and the spoken language, between the language of the schools and the language of the street. Everyone recognizes that the difference exists, but few realize the extent of it, or understand its practical significance. A recent writer has called attention, however, to the fact that not only does the average American not speak the English of the books, but he probably does not understand more than two-thirds of what "comes from the lips of the average political orator or clergyman."

Go into any part of the country, North, East, South, or West, and you will find multitudes of his brothers (*i.e.*, men like Joseph Jacobs's Middle American)—car conductors in Philadelphia, immigrants of the second generation in the East Side of New York, ironworkers in the Pittsburgh region, corner grocers in St. Louis, holders of petty political jobs in Atlanta and New Orleans, small farmers in Kansas or Kentucky, house carpenters in Ohio, tinners and plumbers in Chicago—genuine Americans all, undistinguished norms of the *Homo Americanus*. Such typical Americans, after a fashion, know English. They can read it—all save the "hard" words—*i.e.*, all save about 90 per cent of the words of Greek

and Latin origin. They can understand, perhaps, two-thirds of it as it comes from the lips of a political orator or clergyman. They have a feeling that it is, in some recondite sense, superior to the common speech of their kind. They recognize a fluent command of it as the salient mark of a "smart" and "educated" man, one with "the gift of gab." But they themselves never speak it, nor try to speak it, nor do they look with approbation on efforts in that direction by their fellows.[1]

The reason that the ordinary man does not fully understand the "highbrow," when he is discoursing, may be that the matter under discussion is itself abstruse. In that case it is possible that the highbrow does not fully understand his own remarks. In most instances, however, the average man's failure to comprehend is due to the fact that he does not speak the same language as the academic person, and no one fully comprehends a form of speech that he does not habitually use. What is interesting and significant in this connection is the fact that however wide the divergence between the written and the spoken language may be in America, it is considerably less in this country than in any other part of the world.

In no other country is so much effort and ingenuity expended in perfecting the art, not merely of printing, but of publication and publicity. Not only is the language of the press already simpler, more direct and incisive, closer to the language of the street, than in other countries, but the distinction between the written and the spoken speech is steadily decreasing, in spite of the fact that "the typical literary product of the country is still a refined essay in the *Atlantic Monthly*." [2]

The enormous circulation of the *Saturday Evening*

[1] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 1919, pp. 185–186.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

Post and similar magazines indicates the approach of the written to the spoken language.

TABLE I

MAGAZINES HAVING OVER 1,000,000 CIRCULATION[1]

Needlecroft Magazine	1,003,832
Farm Journal	1,015,791
Woman's World	1,018,448
Cosmopolitan	1,021,037
American Magazine	1,038,422
Collier's Weekly	1,064,294
Woman's Home Companion	1,085,360
Comfort	1,197,410
McCall's	1,201,386
Butterick Trio	1,411,839
Pictorial Review	1,605,301
Ladies' Home Journal	1,822,577
Saturday Evening Post	2,020,930
American Weekly (Sunday Magazine Section)	2,395,246

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

The fact evident from the following table, that the number of daily newspapers does not increase at the same rate as circulations, shows that existing journals are being made interesting to wider and wider audiences.

TABLE II

AGGREGATE CIRCULATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 1904, 1909, 1914[1]

YEAR	NUMBER	TOTAL CIRCULATION	AVERAGE CIRCULATION
1904	2,452	19,632,603	8,006
1909	2,600	24,211,977	9,312
1914	2,580	28,777,454	11,154

The relatively slight difference between the speech of the American "highbrow," and that of the American "lowbrow" results from the tendency of people of different experience and interests, either geographical or

[1] Census of manufacturers, 1914. Vol. II, p. 653.

occupational, to develop different forms of speech. Carried to extremes, this tendency causes the formation first of dialects and then of distinct languages.

In the United States there are, practically speaking, no dialects, a thing which is peculiar to this country.

"The speech of the United States," said Gilbert M. Tucker, "is quite unlike that of Great Britain in the important particular that here we have no dialects." . . . "While we have, or have had, single counties as large as Great Britain," said another American observer, "and in some of our states England could be lost, there is practically no difference between the American spoken in our 4,039,000 square miles of territory, except as spoken by foreigners. We, assembled here, would be perfectly understood by delegates from Texas, Maine, Minnesota, Louisiana, or Alaska, from whatever walk of life they might come. We can go to any of the 75,000 post offices in this country and be entirely sure we will be understood, whether we want to buy a stamp or borrow a match." . . .

No other country can show such linguistic solidarity, nor any approach to it—not even Canada, for there a large part of the population resists learning English altogether. The Little Russian of the Ukraine is unintelligible to the citizen of Petrograd; the northern Italian can scarcely follow a conversation in Sicilian; the Low German from Hamburg is a foreigner to Munich; the Breton flounders in Gascony. Even in the United Kingdom there are wide divergences. "When we remember," says the *New International Encyclopædia*, "that the dialects of the counties in England have marked differences—so marked, indeed, that it may be doubted whether a Lancashire miner and a Lincolnshire farmer could understand each other—we may well be proud that our vast country has, strictly speaking, only one language." [1]

NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES

Differences between the literary form of the language and the dialects spoken in various localities have been

[1] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 1919, pp. 20–21, *passim*.

a grave obstacle to reading in many races. Often the language form that pre-empted the field of the press has been the formalized mother tongue.

In Greece the schools are just beginning to teach the spoken language. The literary language, on the other hand, is as little spoken as the Latin of Cæsar was in Italy in his time. There have been some attempts to make the vernacular a literary language, but reverence for the ancient forms of speech has hitherto made this unpatriotic. In November, 1901, students in the University of Athens rose in insurrection against the government because, at the suggestion of the queen, the Church authorities had ventured to publish the Bible in the vernacular.

The preservation of a distinct literary language in Greece is probably not due entirely to patriotic reverence for the past. Practical reasons justify it. Dialectical differences are probably more pronounced among the Greeks than in any other language group in Europe. Under these circumstances the literary language, even if it is never spoken, becomes a medium of communication between the educated classes, where differences in dialect would otherwise make individuals from different provinces unintelligible to one another. It should also be remembered that, of the 10,000,000 Greeks who profess allegiance to the Greek nationality, only 2,500,000 were living before the World War within the boundaries of the Greek state.[1] Literary Greek performs, in a measure, the same function among the widely dispersed members of the Greek nationality that Latin did for all Europeans in the Middle Ages, which Hebrew does still among the Jews. It is the language of learning and of written discourse.

China offers the classic illustration of a language that

[1] Charles Vellay, "L'Irredentisme Hellenique," in *La Revue de Paris*, 1913, pp. 884–886.

is written, but not spoken. The spoken language of China differs to such an extent in the various provinces that a conference of native Christians recently found it necessary to conduct proceedings in English in order that delegates from different parts of the empire might understand one another. In June, 1910, the Chinese government approved a recommendation of the Board of Education that English should be the official language of scientific and technical education.

The situation in China is still further complicated by the fact that the literary language, particularly the language of the Chinese classics, is composed in a style so concise and so formal that it can be understood only by scholars. It is said that no book that made any pretension to literary style would be intelligible, even to educated Chinamen, if read aloud exactly as printed. The public reader of stories is compelled to translate into the colloquial language of his audience as he goes along.

China has also had a literary awakening, or something that corresponds to it. While in Europe the practical outcome of those awakenings was to create a literature in a language intelligible to the people, in China it has taken the direction of a modification of the written speech so as to make it practicable for the uses of a popular press.

The written Chinese language, in its evolution, has undergone two stages—the classic and the journalistic—and is now entering upon another stage—namely, the vernacular. About a quarter of a century ago, the classic language gave way to journalistic, though it must be made clear here that the latter may still be tinged with color of the former, and the former, though to less degree, is still being used. The difference of the journalistic from the classic language lies in the frequent use of adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, resulting in simplicity of style and a small number of allusions. When it

was first introduced, it was looked down upon by the old *literati* and greatly criticized, but popular support gave it supremacy in a short time. The advent of the vernacular style came about two years ago, when a group of young Chinese and a few American returned students, realizing the importance of popularizing education by means of simple language, attempted to revolutionize the Chinese literature by translating into writing the spoken language. Of course, the spoken language had been written out before this time, but its use was limited to a small circle of comparatively not well-educated people. Its style was coarse and unfinished. The innovators or literary revolutionists have a new vision of the vernacular and are endeavoring to put into it grace and elegance, without which no Chinese literature or any literature can be esteemed or can have permanent value. Magazines written in this style spring up overnight; men of national fame come to its support. Some of the prominent exponents have been imprisoned by the government, and the result of this literary controversy still remains to be seen.

. . . It is the opinion of the writer that the vernacular style, inelegant as it may be at present, will in the course of time develop, through the pens of young literary geniuses, into a written language, simple, expressive, noble, and beautiful.[1]

Sometimes the literary field is monopolized by the language introduced by conquering strangers. What Rome did first in Italy and then in the provinces, the dominant races that succeeded the Latins in Europe have everywhere repeated. Everywhere the conquerors, in imposing peace and order, have at the same time imposed their languages and their cultures. As the power of Rome was centered in the larger cities, whence the laws and decrees of the imperial government were promulgated and tribute of the conquered tribes received, so with the later and lesser conquests the dominant peoples occupied the cities. The language of the

[1] Jennings P. Chu, unpublished paper on "The Development of the Chinese Language."

dominant people became the official language, the language of literature, the medium of commerce, religion, and the only road to office or preferment.

. . . The Roman officials in Gaul encouraged and rewarded the mastery of the Latin tongue and the acquirement of Roman culture, customs, and manners. Thanks to this well-defined policy of the Roman government, native Gauls were found in important offices even in Cæsar's time. The number of these Gallo-Roman offices increased rapidly, and their influence was steadily exercised in favor of the acquirement, by the natives, of the Latin language. A greater inducement still was held out to the Gauls to acquire the ways and culture of their conquerors. This was the prospect of employment or political preference and honors in the imperial city of Rome itself. Under the pressure so diplomatically applied, the study of the Latin language, grammar, literature, and oratory became a passion throughout the cities of Gaul, which were full of Roman merchants, traders, teachers, philosophers, lawyers, artists, sculptors, and seekers for political and other offices. Latin was the symbol of success in every avenue of life.[1]

It was in this way that Latin became the language of learning and religion in western Europe. In the same way, a little later, the French, English, Germans, and more recently the Russians, have transmitted their languages to the peoples within the orbit of their political control. But these invading and colonizing languages have not displaced the native forms of speech, except in the cities. Outside the cities the older languages and the more primitive cultures have persisted. The result is that, to-day, over large areas of Europe, the urban population speaks one language and the rural population another. This is true, to a large extent, in Norway.

. . . Although Norway had seceded from Denmark in 1814, the Danish language, representing the speech of the more

[1] *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. ii, 1918, p. 646.

energetic and better educated Danes, remained official. Four and a half centuries of union between the two countries had made Danish the medium of intellectual development throughout Norway. But this linguistic invasion was accompanied by a notable modification of Danish. Norwegian intonations and sound articulations became adapted to it, and the Norwegian-Danish language, which is spoken to-day, gradually came into use.

This hybrid language, however, does not prevail exclusively. About 95 per cent of the Norwegians speak, according to districts, different dialects derived from the old Norse. The Norwego-Danish, or Riksmaal, is the language of polite society, and the one which a foreigner naturally learns when in Norway. The language of the land, or Norsk, as it is called by the Norwegians, has the merit of being more homogeneous than either Danish or Swedish.[1]

In Posen, and in the Baltic provinces, Germans occupy the cities and own the large estates; the Poles, the Letts, and Esthonians represent the peasant class. In Transylvania and Slovakia the Magyars are mainly in the cities, while Rumanian and Slovak peasants occupy the land. In Lithuania, and in eastern and southern Galicia, the Poles are the city folk, and represent the *intelligentsia* of the province; the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians, or Little Russians, are in the rural areas. Up to the time of the Balkan wars of 1912–13, the Turks occupied the cities; the Bulgarians and the Serbs made up the peasant classes. The same conditions existed a little earlier in Ireland, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands. The Celtic languages lingered in the rural areas, and particularly in the Highlands, but they disappeared in the cities.

The inhabitants of the Welsh counties were divided into two classes very unequal in numbers: a land-owning class,

[1] Leon Dominian, "Scandinavian and Baltic Languages," in *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, 1917, p. 98.

aristocratic in type, speaking for the most part the English language alone, in close touch with the same class in England, actuated by the same motives, and imbued with the same prejudices; and the other class chiefly cultivators of the soil, habitually speaking the Welsh language, retaining many views of life, ideas, and traditions belonging to an earlier stage of civilization, lively in character, imaginative, quick in action, passionately devoted to music and country pursuits. . . .

It is probable that the Welsh farmers and their families (*i.e.*, before the Welsh religious and linguistic revivals) had hardly progressed intellectually as a class from the time of the Conquest. Every indication that we possess shows that hardly any one of them could read or write, and it is clear that the provision for education was of the scantiest possible description. . . .[1]

The significance of this situation lies in the fact that, while the language of the conquered people did in every case survive, it remained until recently a spoken tongue. As literature developed it was in the official language.

This has usually been the result of a natural process. The rulers of the land have used their own language in all departments of government. When they established schools, these have been conducted in the tongue of the founders. They have been the people with sufficient wealth and leisure to encourage learning and the arts. Their economic and social prestige has discredited the vernacular with those members of the native race who were ambitious for culture or position. The nobility and the educated classes of the more or less denationalized peoples have regarded their racial languages much as the Englishman regards the cockney dialect—namely, as a mark of ill breeding, if not of inferiority. Up to the middle of the last century, it is said, an educated Bohemian or a Magyar would hesitate to use his native language upon the streets of Prague or Buda-

[1] John Rhys and David Brynmor Jones, "The Religious Movement," in *The Welsh People*, chap. x, pp. 470–471.

pest. It would have been regarded, at that time, as a mark of peasant origin.

CLEAVAGE PERPETUATED BY SUPPRESSIONS

So far, so good; but if the subject race has grown restive, if it has displayed a national consciousness and a desire to have its own press, then the rulers have suppressed the mother tongue with a heavy hand. Especially in the latter-day conquests of well-defined political and racial entities, the use of the native language in school, press, or pulpit has been prohibited by law. This policy is intended to secure the conquest and promote political solidarity.

Until 1906 there were no schools above the village schools, in Lithuania, where the national language was either used as the language of instruction or could even be studied. A few of the richer Lithuanians at one time used to send their children to the Lett schools in Courland, but in the early nineties this was stopped. . . .

For forty years, from 1864 to 1905, the use of the Latin script was forbidden in Lithuania; and Cyrillicized schoolbooks and prayer books were issued by the government presses for the Lithuanian churches and village schools. But the people would not use the "schismatic" dictionaries and grammars; and in spite of the perquisitions of the Russian policemen, leading to scandalous and sometimes ridiculous scenes, Lithuania was flooded with books in the traditional Latin script, printed in Prussia, and smuggled across the frontier; and, in more recent years, with books from the Lithuanian presses in the United States.[1]

In the Ukraine, in Russian Poland, and in the Baltic states the languages of the peoples were interdicted in the same manner that they were in Lithuania. But the Russian autocracy was a blundering, good-natured, and

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, pp. 57–58.

inefficient institution, and as long as authority was recognized, there were always ways of coming to terms with it. The result was that the masses of the people in the border provinces did read and did maintain folk speech as a literary language. The fact that what they read was contraband undoubtedly added zest to the reading of it.

The situation in Germany, however, was different. There autocracy was efficient, and the prohibitions it imposed were, if less severe in form, more effective in fact. In 1872 Bismarck inaugurated his policy of Germanization in Posen by decreeing that German should be the language of instruction in the Polish schools. At the same time he instructed the police to close any public meeting where speeches were made in any language other than German. The immediate effect was to provoke a violent resistance. There were riots and disturbances throughout the provinces of German Poland, which were followed, as might be expected, by further repressive measures. By 1906 matters had gone so far that a school strike was organized which involved 150,000 children. They refused to answer in German. The whole matter was widely advertised. Numerous studies and investigations were made by learned German professors, and a whole literature grew up around the subject.

LOSS OF RACIAL IDENTITY

The peoples whose languages were suppressed or supplanted practically ceased to exist culturally and politically.

When Finland passed from Swedish into Russian hands, in 1808, the Tsar Alexander was under the impression that he had annexed a Swedish province. The culture was Swedish; the religion was Swedish; when he visited the country the language in which the Diet greeted him was Swedish. The

peasants, he was told, spoke a barbarous tongue of their own; but for all Alexander knew that might well be a dialect of Swedish, as Little Russian was of Russian. He was not interested in the matter. Very few persons at this time were.[1]

The case of Lithuania fifty or sixty years ago was in some respects peculiar. Like the other non-Slavonic nations, she had been subjected for some half a century to the influence of Russian Pan-Slavism, and had had her full share of Russification. Few persons, fifty years ago, distinguished Lithuania from Poland. For purposes of government, Lithuania was Polish. The nobles were Polish; and it was with the nobles that the Russian government was at this moment principally concerned. No educated man in Kovno, in Vilna, in Suvalki, spoke the Lithuanian language. The newspapers were Polish. The higher schools—till they were Russified—were Polish. The University of Vilna, while it existed—it was suppressed by the Russian government some years after the first Polish rising of 1830—had been Polish. If it had not been for the clergy, the memory of a written Lithuanian language would have been lost.[2]

From 1876 to 1905 (not without mitigations from time to time in practice), and again from 1914 to 1917, it was forbidden to publish a book, or to import a book, or to produce a play, or to deliver a lecture, or to preach a sermon, in the Ukrainian language. All education from the village school to the university was in Russian. A large part, perhaps the majority, of the educated classes rarely spoke a word of Ukrainian except to servants or peasants. The higher strata of society, the functionaries, the military, the nobility, the superior clergy, were almost entirely denationalized. So to a great extent were the lower strata in the towns. And even in the villages, where the Ukrainian language was universal, the so-called village aristocracy, time-expired noncommissioned officers, village officials, and former town workers come back to their communes, constituted a more or less Russianized element. The majority of peasants understood a Russian speaker—when they wished to—well enough; for,

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, p. 8

[2] *Ibid.*, 56–57.

though many never went to school, and more forgot what they learned in the two years of schooling which was all that most peasants got, yet most learned again what they had forgotten during their service in the army.[1]

LITERACY PREVENTED

The loss or inhibition of a nation's culture, although it may deprive the world of valuable artistic contributions, does not inhibit the intellectual development of the natives if they assimilate the culture of another race and make it their own. The conquering races of Europe expected that the natives would adopt their culture when they suppressed all publications in the mother tongue and forbade its use in the schools. They expected the native child, who was taught to read their language at school, to read their books and papers when he grew up, and so absorb their ideas, see life from their point of view. This would simplify their government problems.

This policy was successful only with that small minority to whom intellectual development was of first importance. The exceptionally able secured education at the sacrifice of racial identity; the average man, though he went to school, got no education.

The student, the intellectual, seeking a wider horizon, looking beyond the narrow boundaries of his racial isolation, abandoned his ancestral heritage to gain a wider outlook on life.

Even to study for the priesthood a Slovak must pass through the Magyar seminary, and there any study of the language of the future flock is treated as ground for expulsion. The natural consequence is that a Slovak who continues his education, religious or secular, beyond the primary school, necessarily receives a purely Magyar training, and partly through

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, pp. 132–133.

assimilation, and partly through prudential considerations, generally becomes a Magyar one, and like most converts, *plus royalist que le roi.* Thus the Slovaks lose their natural leaders by a constant drafting off of the ablest and most ambitious.[1]

The average child, especially the average peasant child, received little schooling. He never learned to read the official language easily; he seldom or never heard it spoken after he left school, and naturally he never read it. Instead of giving their own culture to the conquered people, the conquerors cut them off from all culture transmitted by the written word.

This result of the linguistic repressions is an excellent example of what always happens when the spoken language is not the language of education.

It has been observed, in the cases of the Irish and the Welsh peoples, that change from the native language to English has been accompanied by intellectual deterioration, due not to the mere fact of change from one language to another, but to the fact that the new language was never thoroughly mastered.

The probability is that during transition from the one language to the other the people suffered intellectually: they were cut off from the movements, religious and other, which took place among those of their countrymen who continued to speak Welsh, at the same time that their change of language failed to bring them into anything like the atmosphere of English culture. Here we might, perhaps, cite as relevant the words of one of the commissioners who reported, in 1846, on education in Wales, when he wrote as follows: "As the influence of the Welsh Sunday school decreases, the moral degradation of the inhabitants is more apparent. This is observable on approaching the English border." And it is believed in Wales to be their condition still to some extent,

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens,* 1910, p. 111.

but how far that may be really the case it would be hard to say. . . .

As a rule . . . the children in the country districts leave school before they have so far mastered English as to be able to make a free and comfortable use of it in conversation. Only a very small minority of them become really bilingual, as proved by their habitual use of Welsh for all purposes, domestic, social, and religious. At most, they retain perhaps enough of the English learned at school to be able to answer simple questions addressed to them in very plain terms.[1]

The difficulty of educating children in a language that is foreign to their parents is greater in rural communities, where the language of the schools is never or only rarely spoken, than it is in the cities, where the language of instruction, while not the mother tongue, is still the language of ordinary intercourse outside the family.

The difficulty of carrying on instruction in a language that is foreign to the home and the local community was very clearly pointed out as early as 1824 in the report of the directors of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. In reference to the work of education among the Scotch Highlanders, the report made this statement:

"There seems to be, in the heads of the people, a very general prejudice against the use of the Gaelic as a school language—a prejudice which has been found in its full strength even when the older people could themselves use no other language. But these poor people have not reflection enough to perceive what is the truth on the subject, that so long as their children talk no other language but Gaelic, it is a mere waste of time and entirely vain to burden their memories for

[1] John Rhys and David Brynmor Jones, "Language and Literature," in *The Welsh People*, 1913, chap. xii, pp. 527, 529. The significance of the reference to the influence of the Sunday school appears only in view of the fact that Welsh was taught in the Sunday school.

a few years with a vocabulary of dead and unmeaning English."[1]

Apparently the Highlanders had taken the commonsense view that, as there was at that time no Gaelic literature, there was no reason why their children should learn to read the Gaelic language.

The actual situation was more positively stated some years later by Dr. Norman Macleod.

"There is no corner in the world, of which we have heard, where they learn a foreign language before their mother tongue, excepting only in the Highlands. Out in the Lowlands, if people tried to give Latin or French to their children before they were able to read their own tongue, and to make use of the former as a means of teaching the latter, it would be thought that the man who tried it had gone mad. This has been done too long in the Highlands, and little profit has come of it."[2]

The situation which once existed in Scotland was not unlike that in Posen, Lithuania, Courland, Ukrainia, and some other places before the World War. There was, however, one important difference. The Gaels of the Scottish Highlands, although not without a natural disposition to preserve their native language and traditions, have been and are still eager to learn the language of the country of which they feel themselves a part. Where there has been animosity between the dominant and the minor groups, all the natural difficulties of carrying on education in a foreign language—foreign at least to the people of the community—has been multiplied.

The Slovaks have raised an objection to the very drastic measures of Magyarization to which they were

[1] *The Teaching of Gaelic in Highland Schools*, published under the auspices of the Highland Association, London, 1907, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

subjected that does not apply to either Germany or Russia. "Why," they say, "should we learn to read Magyar when there is nothing in Magyar to read?"

The Slovaks, who, like most Slavs, are extremely tenacious, object to this policy of Magyarization on practical as well as on sentimental grounds. Their own language, with a little experience, practically opens to them the whole Slav world, including Russia (and we have seen what wanderers they are). German, too, which a large proportion of them speak, is an important medium of business and culture. "But what," they say, "does Magyar open to our children? They come out of schools, in most cases, not really masters of it and at the same time illiterate in their own tongue, which they have not been allowed to learn to read or write. This is a cause of an artificial degree of illiteracy among our people. In America our people learn to read Slovak and come back reading the newspapers." [1]

Perhaps the worst that can be said against the efforts of Germans and Russians to impose their languages upon their subject peoples is that they were not successful. If they had succeeded they would have put the native population in possession of a language that gave them access to the general culture of Europe. It was not to be expected that so much German as a Lettish or Esthonian peasant was likely to learn in a rural school in Courland would open any doors to the treasures of European culture that have been accumulated and preserved in the German language.

On the contrary, the effort to give the peasant an education in Russian or German would probably close for him the doors to any knowledge outside his village and his province. He would not be schooled enough to get it through the channels of German or Russian culture, and he would not know or have any command of other channels. Just so the drilling on Greek and Latin

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 110.

syntax, which is all the average student gets from his study of these languages in the secondary schools, usually gives him an aversion for the whole subject and an idea that syntax is all there is to be gotten from it. It closes the doors, for him, to any appreciation of Greek and Latin literature or any understanding of Greek or Roman life.

The effect of the divisions between folk and literary languages was to retard the development of the peasants, to preserve large rural areas at an intellectual level far below that of the rest of Europe.

LINGUISTIC REVIVALS

Beginning in Wales in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and among other peoples in the early part of the nineteenth century, Europe has experienced a series of revivals of the folk languages. These linguistic revivals, which have invariably preluded every nationalistic movement in Europe, have not been confined to any one country. They have been well-nigh universal. They took place in France, in Spain, in Norway, and in Denmark. There have been the Celtic revivals in Brittany, in Ireland, in Scotland, and in Wales, and there have been similar movements in the so-called oppressed and dependent nationalities of middle Europe. Finally, among the Jews of eastern Europe, there has been the movement for enlightenment (the Haskala movement), which has made—quite unintentionally to be sure—the Judeo-German dialect (Yiddish) a literary language.

At first blush, it seems strange that the revivals of the folk speech should have come at a time when the locomotive and the telegraph were extending commerce and communication to the uttermost limits of the earth, when all barriers were breaking down, and the steady

expansion of cosmopolitan life and the organization of the Great Society, as Graham Wallis has called it, seemed destined to banish all the minor languages, dialects, and obsolescent forms of speech, the last props of an international provincialism, to the limbo of forgotten things. The competition of the world languages was already keen; all the little and forgotten peoples of Europe—the Finns, Letts, Ukrainians, Russo-Carpathians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Croatians, the Catalonians of eastern Spain, whose language, by the way, dates back to a period before the Roman Conquest, the Czechs, and the Poles—began to set up presses and establish schools to revive and perpetuate their several racial languages.

To those who, at this time, were looking forward to world-organization and a universal peace through the medium of a universal language, all this agitation had the appearance of an anachronism, not to say a heresy. It seemed a deliberate attempt to set up barriers, where progress demanded that they should be torn down. The success of such a movement, it seemed, must be to bring about a more complete isolation of the peoples, to imprison them, so to speak, in their own languages, and so cut them off from the general culture of Europe.

However, the situation was not, and is not, what it seemed. In the first place, many of the minor nationalities are "little" only when measured in terms of the circulation of periodicals *printed in the national or racial languages* which, in many countries, have been constantly and systematically suppressed. The population of United Poland, which is included among the minor nationalities, has been estimated at 21,000,000. This is larger than the population of the three Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Most of the language revivals are in early stages of development. In most cases the revivalists have not

even had a homogeneous national language to work with; or, if they had, it was a peasant dialect with a limited vocabulary. The shift from one literary medium to another naturally causes confusion, and this is increased when the new language must be developed, at the same time, into an instrument capable of expressing modern thought. Temporary loss of efficiency results; but eventually the literary development of a vernacular provides an intellectual medium for classes who previously had no access to modern thought and culture.

In countries where there are wide local differences in the common speech, the national language, if it may be said to exist at all, is not yet completely formed. In Norway, for example, the peasants and the common people spoke the old Norse dialects. The educated people spoke a hybrid Danish-Norwegian. A national language is just now in process of formation.

Nationality and language have grown apace in Norway. Prior to the nineteenth century the use of words taken from the Norwegian dialects was considered bad form. The granting of a constitution to the Norwegians, in 1814, created a strong feeling of nationality throughout the land. . . . This spirit was reflected in active research for every form of Old Norse culture. Hitherto despised patois words were forced into prose and poetry by the foremost Norwegian writers, a movement to Norsefy the Riksmaal thus being originated.

As a result of these endeavors a new language, the "Landsmaal," or fatherland speech, came into being about the middle of the nineteenth century. The name of Ivor Aasen will always be linked with it. This gifted peasant devoted his life to the idea of a renaissance of the Old Norse language through the unification of the current peasant dialects. . . . Two of his works—*The Grammar of the Norwegian Popular Language*, published in 1848, and a *Dictionary of the Norwegian Popular Language*, in 1850—virtually established a new medium of speech in Norway. . . . By a number of enact-

ments of the Storting, the study of the new national tongue was made compulsory. . . . The issue between Landsmaal and Riksmaal being closely linked with nationalism in Norway, many Norwegians have now come to look upon the Danish tongue as a sign of former vassalage. New Norse, on the other hand, embodies the newly acquired national independence. In the eyes of patriots it is the language which is most closely allied to the saga tongue of their viking ancestors. And yet it is stated that less than a thousand persons in Norway actually use New Norse in their conversation. The supplanting of Norwego-Danish by the made-to-order Landsmaal bids fair to take time. But the process of welding Norwegian dialects into a single national language is going on. . . . In recent years it has been customary to publish all acts of Parliament both in Norwego-Danish and in Landsmaal.[1]

Similarly, in most of the minor nationalities of Europe, great changes are taking place in both the spoken and the written speech. Undoubtedly the World War, in giving independence to the dependent nationalities, has given a new impetus to these changes.

Among Croatians there are, generally speaking, as many different dialects as there are geographically different provinces. So you would find differences in dialect in Dalmatia, Istria, Lika, Slavonia, Srijem, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zagorje, etc. According to the divergence of dialects from the literary style, there are three main groups of dialects—namely, *Sto*kavsko narjecje (dialect using the word "*sto*" for "what"); *Kaj*avsko narjecje (using "*kaj*" for "what"); and *Ca*kavsko narjecje (using "*ca*" for "what"). Then come subdivisions: Stokavsko narjecje is divided in three groups, according to the difference in using vowels "e," "ije," or "i" in one word; for example: "lepo" (nice, pretty) is written and spoken so in "*ekavsko* narjecje," "lijepo" (again the same word, nice, pretty) is written so in "*ijekavsko* narjecje"; while "lipo" (nice, again!) is written and spoken in "*ikavsko* narjecje."

[1] Leon Dominian, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, pp. 98, 99, 100, *passim*.

The present literary type in use is "Stokavsko ijekavsko narjecje" in the Croatian press and books, while the Serbs use "Stokavsko ekavsko narjecje" in press and in books.[1]

Rumania and Bulgaria illustrate the generally confused and plastic state of the national languages of the minor nationalities at the present time.

In Rumania the present literary language may be said to date from 1830, when Latin became the dominant influence in the culture of the country. It was at this time that the Rumanian people discovered that they were related, through their language and history, to the Latin rather than the Slavic peoples. Previous to this time Rumanian literature had been dominated first by Slavonic and later by Greek models. All these have left their mark upon the common speech.

There are three dialects in the kingdom of Rumania as it existed before the war. But the nationality is represented by colonies outside the formal kingdom. Bessarabia, the Banat, Bukovina, and Macedonia each has a dialect of its own, and Transylvania has several. The Transylvanian speech is affected in one locality by Magyar words, in another by German words, and in another by Polish words.

The language situation is still further confused by the necessity for forming new words or borrowing expressions from other languages in order to provide technical and scientific terms, which are totally lacking in the folk speech. This gives an artificial character to the written language which still further emphasizes the distinction between it and the vernacular.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to establish the reading habit among the masses of the people. As

[1] Francis K. Kolander, editor of *Zajednicar*, organ of Narodna Hrvatska Zajednica Society, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. (Correspondence, October 27, 1919.)

a consequence, the press is usually addressed to the educated classes. Only in Poland,[1] as far as this inquiry has gone, has there come into existence a press published for and addressed to the interests and understanding of the peasant.

In so far as these literary awakenings have made way for the growth of a vernacular press, which brought the masses of the people in contact with modern political ideas, they have profound reverberations in the intellectual and political life of Europe.

All these movements, if they have not originated, have gotten their support mainly from the rural populations. The languages which these movements sought to preserve were, for the main part, the languages of peasants. For the peasant people, as for the masses of the Jews in Russia, Galicia, and Rumania, they have been not merely revivals of language, but intellectual awakenings.

> There was in Helsingfors [at the beginning of the nineteenth century] a small group of Swedish academics who had awakened to the life, and, above all, to the language of the peasants. Rousseau's conception of the Noble savage, then universally acclaimed in polite circles in Scandinavia, had invested with a novel glamour the ugly-looking Mongols, with whom most of the Helsingfors intellectuals had grown up. Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*, a book whose repercussions outside the philological field are curiously extensive in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, had directed attention to the possibility of the preservation of a national literature over long periods by oral tradition without the use of writing. The bearing of Wolf's thesis on the ancient Finnish folk songs seized the imagination of the Helsingfors savant Lonnrot. For many years he collected them, taking them down in writing from the mouths of village singers. When he had collected 12,000 lines he arranged them in runes, or books, as

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. iv.

Pisistratus is said to have arranged the Homeric poems, and in 1835 produced them as the Finnish national epic, with the title "Kalewala." *Si parva licet componere magnis*, Lonnrot's publication of the *Kalewala* was to the Finnish tongue and people what the *Divine Comedy* was to the Italian tongue and Italy. It is the date with which the history of modern Finland begins.

But the national epic was no more than the foundation on which the fabric of the national language had to be built up. The vocabulary of Wainamoinen and the beauteous Aino, as may be imagined, contained no ready equivalents for "proportional representation," "intensive agriculture," and other conceptions, in which the modern Finn is largely interested. The expansion of the vocabulary took time; and the Finnish revivalists found that it was not possible to hasten the process, as the Czechs at the same period were finding in Bohemia, and the Gaelic League is finding in Ireland to-day. But numbers told. Of the 3,000,000 inhabitants of Finland over 2,500,000 are Finns, and under 500,000 are Swedes. Once the majority became "tongue-conscious," it was bound to prevail over the minority. The language early obtained political recognition; in 1863, twenty-eight years after the publication of the *Kalewala*, it was permitted as an alternative to Swedish in the courts of law and in the Diet; in 1886 it was allowed for official correspondence; and in 1894 it was admitted to the Senate. In the year 1915 there were 274 newspapers in Finnish, 103 in Swedish, and 7 with Finnish and Swedish in parallel columns.[1]

It is the creation of a literature that is responsible for the extraordinary intellectual activity of the Lettish people in very recent times. The expression in the vernacular literature of the ideas and culture absorbed from Russian, German, and French literature has brought the masses of the people, to such an extent, into touch with the intellectual life of Europe that a recent writer could say:

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, pp. 8–10.

At bottom, the malady from which the Letts are suffering is a disproportionate growth of *intelligentsia.* It is a malady not rare in the case of nations that have been through great oppression and are struggling to be free. The case of Armenia is not dissimilar. It is a malady which can always be righted, so long as the natural land hunger of the race is not dead.[1]

The intellectual awakening, which in recent years has manifested itself in all the dark corners of Europe, has been brought about not through direct acquaintance with the great cultural languages of Europe, but through the effect of the literature of these languages on writing in the mother tongue, the language of the people.

LANGUAGE IDENTIFIED WITH NATIONALITY

The literary revival of the folk speech in Europe has invariably been a prelude to the revival of the national spirit in subject peoples. The sentiment of nationality has its roots in memories that attach to the common possessions of the people, the land, the religion, and the language, but particularly the language. One stanza of a Welsh national song expresses this sentiment thus:

"If the enemy has ravished the Land of Wales, the Language of Wales is as living as ever." ("*Os Treisiodd y gelyn fy Ngwlad dan ei droed, mae Hen Iaith y Cymry mor fyw ag erioed.*")[2]

Bohemian patriots have a saying, "As long as the language lives, the nation is not dead." In an address in 1904 Jorgen Levland, who was afterward Premier of Norway, in a plea for "freedom with self-government,

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe,* 1919, p. 55.

[2] Rev. Daniel Jenkins Williams, *The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio,* p. 108.

home, land, and our own language," made this statement:

"Political freedom is not the deepest and greatest. Greater is it for a nation to preserve her intellectual inheritance in her native tongue."[1]

The revival of the national consciousness in the subject peoples has invariably been connected with the struggle to maintain a press in the native language. The reason is that it was through the medium of the national press that the literary and linguistic revivals took place. Conversely, the efforts to suppress the rising national consciousness took the form of an effort to censor or suppress the national press. There were nowhere attempts to suppress the spoken language as such. On the other hand, it was only as the spoken language succeeded in becoming a medium of literary expression that it was possible to preserve it under modern conditions and present in this way the national solidarity. When the Lithuanians, for example, were condemned to get their education and their culture through the medium of a language not their own, the effect was to denationalize the literate class and to make its members aliens to their own people. If there was no national press, there could be no national schools, and, indeed, no national church. It was for this reason that the struggle to maintain the national language and the national culture has always been a struggle to maintain a national press.

European nationalists, seeking to revive among their peoples the national consciousness, have invariably sought to restore the national speech, to purge it of foreign idioms, and emphasize every mark which serves

[1] Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, pp. 97–98.

to distinguish it from the languages with which it tended to fuse.

As written by the Nationalists, Ukrainian differs considerably in appearance from Russian. It discards six of the Russian letters, and uses three which Russian has not got. The Nationalists have purposely made the orthography as different from the Russian as possible. They have created a new-Ukrainian literary language, from which they have excluded as far as possible all Great Russian technical terms. But though a considerable literature now exists in this language, Ukrainian may be said to be still in a fluid state. The Russophils in Galicia employ a peculiar mixture of Russian, Ukrainian, and Church Slavonic, with a semi-Glagolitic script; and are to all seeming as much, or as little, understood by their peasant audiences as the Nationalists with their new-Ukrainian diction.[1]

In Europe, before the rise of national consciousness among the dependent races, the superior and the educated classes not infrequently preferred to forget their racial origin in order to identify themselves with the ruling classes of the dominant race. Thus Kosciusko, the Polish national hero, was a Lithuanian, and Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, was a Slovak. With the rise of nationalism, however, all this changed. The struggle to preserve the folk speech and make it a literary—*i.e.*, a written as well as a spoken language, assumed the character of a life-and-death struggle between rival civilizations. The suppression of the racial speech came to mean the suppression of the racial individuality. The Lithuanian who permitted himself to be Polonized, the Slovak who allowed himself to be Magyarized, were regarded among their own people as renegades. Like the Jew who consented to baptism, or the man with Negro blood who passed for white, the denationalized

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, pp. 133–134.

individual was in danger of being regarded as an apostate, an outcast, among his own people.

Among the Ruthenians in Galicia and in Hungary, nationalist writers have frequently complained that the educated classes are not interested in the enlightenment of the masses, and that, far from supporting the cause of Ruthenian nationalism, they have permitted themselves, at least in Hungary, to be denationalized.

> The Ruthenian intellectuals, in their terror, do not balk at anything which will make themselves appear good Magyars. They even outdo the Magyars themselves in their demonstrations of patriotism. The result is that they have become renegades and the worst enemies of their own people. They are moral degenerates, sybarites, flatterers of the Hungarians, and it is useless to try to inculcate in them any idea, or inspire them with any noble sentiment. They are no longer in touch with their own people. They despise them; they avoid all contact with the Ruthenian intellectuals of Galicia, and if conversation between them were necessary it would be carried on in German.[1]

On the other hand, it was very likely to be this same intellectual who later returned to become the leader in the nationalistic movements to emancipate the race, to educate the masses, to re-establish the nationality on a freer and more independent basis.

Acceptance of the standards and culture of an alien language group, under the circumstances in which it has taken place in many European countries, puts upon one's own a stigma of inferiority that embitters the foreigner and eventually turns him back to his native tradition and language. The transition from one language group to another involves, under these circumstances, a conflict of loyalties, and creates in the mind

[1] Y. Fedorchuk, "La Question des Nationalites en Autriche-Hongrie: Les Ruthenes de Hongrie," in *Annales des Nationalites*, 1915, vol. iii, pp. 52–56.

of the individual what William James describes as "a divided self." The fact that a Ruthenian permits himself to become Magyarized, a Lithuanian to become Polonized, or a Pole to become Germanized, implies acquiescence in all the stupid forms of coercion and humiliation which are employed consciously or unconsciously by the dominant nationality to carry through the process of denationalization. Eventually, when the rebound comes, it is the more violent as the suppression of the natural feelings have been more complete.

Doctor Kudirka had been profoundly influenced by Polish nationalism at the College of Mariapolis. . . . He permitted himself to be still further Polonized while he was studying at the University of Warsaw. It was the fate of all the Lithuanians of that period, and he made no exception. But suddenly he changed and, from being an incipient Pole, he became an ardent Lithuanian patriot. This is the way he describes his conversion: "At the time I was completing my studies at college, I was convinced that an intellectual person could not be a Lithuanian. I felt this way all the more as everyone despised the Lithuanians.

"I preferred to tell anyone who asked me my nationality that I was a Lithuanian-Pole because, as a matter of fact, Lithuania and Poland had been historically united. I considered myself then as Polish by adoption. This seemed a partial compensation for the mistake of being Lithuanian. What a hypocritical interpretation of the facts! Nevertheless, it was sufficient for me as it was for others like me, all the more as nothing had occurred to compel me to really think about the matter.

"It was with such a conception of my nationality that I entered the University [of Warsaw], where there were very few Lithuanians, and even those who were there were not known among themselves. My feelings for Lithuania, in short, grew less and less.

"During my vacation I returned to Lithuania. A priest related to me one day that a Lithuanian journal was soon to

appear. He showed me verses he had written in Lithuanian, and a letter of Bessanavicius concerning the publication of the journal. I read the letter. Something touched my heart, but the sentiment passed. Child's play, I thought to myself, in Polish. From that moment thoughts in regard to Lithuania visited my mind more frequently, but my heart remained cold and indifferent to everything which touched Lithuania and the Lithuanians.

"Six months elapsed; I received the first number of *Austra;* I looked at the first page, and there I saw Bessanavicius. 'Apostle,' I thought at once, but this time in Lithuanian. Suddenly I began to turn the pages of the journal, and then I do not remember anything more distinctly. I remember only that I arose and bowed my head, not daring to raise my eyes. . . . It seemed that I heard the voice of Lithuania accusing me and pardoning me at the same time: 'Misguided man, where are you at this present moment?'

"Immediately, I felt my heart tighten; I sank into my chair and began weeping like a child. I regretted the time that I had lost when I had done nothing for Lithuania, time that I could never recover. I blushed for shame that I had persevered so long in my misguided course. . . . Then my heart filled with new pride and new energy. It seemed as if I had suddenly expanded and the world had grown smaller. I felt as powerful as a giant; I felt that I had recovered my Lithuanian nationality."

It is thus that Kudirka relates his conversion to Lithuanianism, which he characterizes as a second birth and considers the most important moment of his life.[1]

For their part, the "superior" races—that is, the descendants of the conquering peoples—have viewed the strange attachment of the "inferior" races to their strange language with no adequate understanding of the deep, natural unrest which a dawning race-consciousness, a desire for freedom and recognition, have awakened in them. This attitude is reflected in the

[1] Jean Pelissier, *Les Principaux Artisans de la Renaissance Nationale Lituanienne,* note on Doctor Kudirka, pp. 48–50.

following passage from an autobiography (unpublished) of a young woman immigrant of Finnish nationality but of Swedish parentage:

. . . My home was very Swedish. We spoke the Swedish language and read Swedish authors, played Swedish music, danced Swedish dances. When I say "Swedish" I do not necessarily mean that all this had been directly imported from Sweden; much of it had been written on Finnish soil by men and women born in Finland.

What I want to emphasize is that my upbringing was thoroughly Swedish. I came into contact with Finns all the time. My playmates were sometimes Finns; the maids and the hired men were Finns. So I learned the Finnish language as well as Swedish. But I never regarded it very highly. To me it was the language of the maids and the hired men—of the peasants. It is hard to describe the curious attitude that I had—and have—toward the Finns. I was very fond of some of them, and I was willing to use their language to a certain extent. Sometimes I even felt a passionate patriotism that included the Finns as well as the Swedes of my country. But all the time there was a feeling of superiority, that I belonged to a better race, and was different from them. As I grew older this feeling was emphasized because of the Finnish attitude toward us Swedes. It became absolute contempt. By the time I left Finland I had no use at all for either the Finns or their language, because of their behavior politically. I felt that they had betrayed the country—as no doubt some of them had done.[1]

Between the "dependent" nationalities and the people they had come to regard as their oppressors, there has been not merely the difference of language, but a difference in social condition and status. The masses of the people of the dependent nationalities have been peasants. The peoples against whom they were in rebellion have been city folk. The people of the cities not only have had all the outward marks of an intrinsic

[1] Autobiography. (Manuscript.)

superiority, but they have cherished at the same time a deep inner conviction of this superiority.

The nationalist movement, the struggle of the dependent peoples for independence, by a natural course of events has become involved with the economic and class struggle, because everywhere the racial conflict and the class conflict involved the same parties. In Courland, for example, if the landlord was a German, the tenant would be a Lett, and the government official a Russian. In Austria, if the capitalist class has been mainly German, the proletariat has been mainly Slav.

Under these circumstances, the natural and, on the whole, wholesome antagonisms of race and class have been greatly embittered. In Courland, where the situation is comparable with that in Finland, the racial animosities are of such long standing and so well established that they have found expression in the folk songs of the people.

A recent writer, M. Doumergue, has been at pains to illustrate from the Lett folk songs the bitterness which prevails. It is no difficult task. One song—it may be cited here, as it is not among those given by Doumergue—runs:

> "Oh, poor German guest!
> What wouldst thou in our wretched hut?
> Thou canst not stay in the yard,
> For in the yard is wind or rain.
> Thou canst not stay within,
> For within is smoke.
> Listen! I will advise thee!
> Go to the bottom-most place of Hell,
> Where the Devil makes his fire.
> No rain there, German! No smoke there!"

It would be difficult to conceive a more vivid expression of race hatred; and what truer expression than folk song of the soul of a race? [1]

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, pp. 36–37.

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL

All the unrest which the economic and social changes of the nineteenth century had aroused among the "oppressed and dependent nationalities" of Europe has been gradually focused in the struggle to raise the folk languages, the languages spoken by the peasants, to the dignity of a literary medium, the language of the schools and of the press.

III

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ASSIMILATION

National consciousness is inevitably accentuated by immigration. Loneliness and an unfamiliar environment turn the wanderer's thoughts and affections back upon his native land. The strangeness of the new surroundings emphasizes his kinship with those he has left.

This general effect is intensified in those whose race is still struggling for political recognition. The most able members of such an immigrant group are apt to be men exiled for their patriotic activities. In the new country they have more freedom to work for their cause than they had under a hostile government at home, and they naturally encourage their fellow immigrants to help them.

NATIONALISM NATURAL AMONG IMMIGRANTS

It is probably not a mere coincidence that nationalist movements have so frequently originated and been supported from abroad. In many cases national consciousness has manifested itself first of all in the exile, the refugee, and the immigrant. When schools in the native language were closed in Europe, they were opened in America. When the vernacular press was being slowly extirpated by a hostile censorship in the old country, it flourished so much the more in the new, where the government did not seem to know that it existed.

The Lithuanians refer to the United States as "the second birthplace of the nationality." But the same thing might be said by the Irish and some others.

By the middle of the last century Lithuania had been so completely Polonized that the native speech had ceased to be the language of the literate classes. It was not until 1883 that the "Young Lithuanians," as the nationalist party was called, published their first magazine, *Auzra* (Dawn). But between 1834 and 1895 no less than thirty-four Lithuanian periodicals were published in America.

The movement for the revival of the Irish language may be said to have had its origin in Boston. At any rate, the Phil-Celtic Society, organized there in 1873, had been in existence for three years before it attracted the attention of Irish scholars in Dublin, and thus led to the formation in 1876 of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, since succeeded by the more popular Gaelic League.

When the Magyars closed the Slovak gymnasiums, and suppressed the Matica—a literary, linguistic, and educational society, which had been the center of the nationalist movement—schools were established in America, with the result that Slovak peasants learned in America what they were not permitted to do in Hungary—to read their mother tongue.

EFFORTS TO PREVENT ASSIMILATION

The nationalistic tendencies of the immigrants find their natural expression and strongest stimulus in the national societies, the Church, and the foreign-language press—the institutions most closely connected with the preservation of the racial languages. In these the immigrant feels the home ties most strongly; they keep him in touch with the political struggle at home and even

give him opportunities to take part in it. Both consciously and unconsciously they might be expected to center the immigrants' interests and activities in Europe and so keep him apart from American life.

The majority of Lithuanians did not emigrate to the United States with the idea of staying there definitely. They came in order to make money and to return as soon as possible to their own country, where many of them became landowners. Thus, it has come about in recent years that considerable territory has been returned into the hands of the Lithuanians who had been dispossessed, and the money earned in America has served to increase the fortune of the mother country. The other Lithuanians are obliged to remain in America while they are waiting for change in the actual political government in Russia in order to return to their native land.

Up to the present, Lithuanian emigrants to the United States have not lost their sentiment for their nationality. Thanks to their religion which unites them in their own churches, which are, in a way, their communal houses, genuine nurseries of patriotism. And thanks, also, to the numerous organizations which bring them together and establish relations between different groups, even those that are most isolated. In the great cities, where the Lithuanians form compact masses and are well organized, they are better defended against assimilation; but fortunately the patriotic societies, the number of which is constantly increasing, have extended their field of action to all the colonies and have spread among our fellow countrymen the love of the far-away homeland and the cult of the national traditions. The press, also, is a powerfully strong bond between all the Lithuanians scattered about on the American soil. The Lithuanians in America edit a score of papers. We may cite as among the most important: *Lietuva, Vienybe Lietuvniku, Draugas, Kathalikas* (Chicago), *Darbininku Viltis* (Shenandoah, Pennsylvania), *Tevyne.*[1]

[1] J. G., "Les Colonies Lituaniennes aux États-Unis," in *Annales des Nationalites,* 1913, vol. ii, pp. 231–232.

The Church has proved an effective medium for either the assimilation of peoples or their isolation, according to the purposes of the clergy. Dominant races have used their control of a church with its missions and its schools to introduce and establish their languages and cultures among primitive and subject peoples. A people's own church, however, has always been a conservative influence. It is in the religious rituals that the ancient language forms are longest retained. The Arabic language, the sacred language of Mohammedanism, has preserved its purity more completely than other languages because in childhood the Moslems are made to learn large portions of the Koran by heart, and if a single vowel is mispronounced it is regarded as an act of infidelity. The following anecdote illustrates to what extent religion may conserve speech:

> I was one day surprised by seeing a tall, elderly black man making extracts from a theological work in the Khedivial library at Cairo. He told me he came from Sakoto (on the Kwora River), and that, although his people had a distinct language, they were all taught Arabic in their boyhood. He certainly spoke the purest and most perfect Arabic that I ever heard spoken, using all the vowels and inflexions with the utmost precision.[1]

It is an interesting fact that among the Lithuanians, at least, the Church has appeared in a double role as a nationalizing and a denationalizing influence. In Europe the Poles seem to have used their superior position in the Catholic church to Polonize the Lithuanians, and that, too, at a time when the Russian government was making efforts, rather desultory and unsuccessful, to be sure, to Russianize both the Lithuanians and Poles.

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[1] E. T. Rogers, "Dialects of Colloquial Arabic," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1879, p. 366.

The Polish nationalists have found powerful support in the Catholic clergy. Those of the diocese of Vilna, with the bishop at their head, have been particularly serviceable, and have been more occupied in Polonizing their parishioners than in teaching them the Christian faith and Christian morality. For this purpose all means are good. The pulpit, the confessional, are transformed by the clergy into schools of the Polish language. For a long time the Polish bishops of Vilna have employed singular tactics in the nomination of the priests. They assigned to the Lithuanian parishes priests who spoke only Polish. Instead of taking the trouble of learning the language of their parishioners, the priests forced the Polish language upon their congregations.[1]

In America, on the other hand, such of the Catholic clergy as are Lithuanian nationalists have been struggling with apparent success to win back to the Lithuanian cause those members of their race who had already become Polonized and were, apparently, not only content, but proud that they were regarded as members of a race of higher cultural status than their own.

The most powerful bond which unites immigrants of the same nationality in a foreign country is that represented by religion and the Church. Pious people, like the Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, and others, carry with them to the land across the sea their own profound religious sentiment. In their churches they feel at home. The church is a little corner of the distant fatherland. It is thus in America that religion has become the most powerful source of resistance against Americanization (assimilation).

There was a time when Lithuanians were an exception to this rule. At the time of the first emigration of Lithuanians to the United States, in 1869, the national revival had not made its appearance among the people. The Lithuanians came to America and built churches for the Poles. It is a curious thing, but the Lithuanians were Polonized in America

[1] A. Jakstas, "Lituaniens et Polonais," in *Annales des Nationalites*, 1915, vol. iii, p. 214.

in their own churches. Many of the new arrivals from the banks of the Niemen, instead of learning English in America and adapting themselves to the conditions of the new country, wasted their energy in learning Polish and acquiring Polish customs. Even in the parish schools, poorly conducted as they were, Lithuanian parents insisted that their children should be instructed in Polish. Nevertheless, this anomalous situation has ceased to exist. It took a good many years to persuade these ignorant people that Lithuanians are and ought to remain Lithuanians, and that it is a crime on their part to serve the purposes and plans of another nation than their own. That work of persuasion has not yet ceased. It is sufficient to mention here that in Pennsylvania there still exists a little colony, by name of Ridge, where the Lithuanians call themselves Poles. Opposed to the usage of the Lithuanian language, they steadily insist that their church shall be conducted by Polish priests who do not know a word of Lithuanian. . . .

The Lithuanians rarely have anything in common with Poles. They form distinct organizations and construct separate churches and schools. At present there are eighty Lithuanian churches in the United States and they all are strong fortresses and guardians of the nationality of the Lithuanians of America. They maintain twenty-two primary schools, in which their children learn English and at the same time their mother tongue. Five of these are directed by Polish sisters, one by French sisters, and the others by English sisters. But the teachers have learned the language of their scholars and teach the children Lithuanian. Four other schools are directed by the Sisters of St. Casimir. It is thanks to the church and the school that many hundred thousands of Lithuanians have not been absorbed in the great nation. As long as the Lithuanians construct and maintain their churches and their schools, the name and nationality of the Lithuanians will be maintained in the country of George Washington.[1]

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[1] A. Kaupas, "L'Église et les Lituaniens aux États-Unis d'Amérique," in *Annales des Nationalites*, 1913, vol. ii, pp. 233–234.

The immigrant press serves at once to preserve the foreign languages from disintegrating into mere immigrant dialects, hyphenated English, and to maintain contact and understanding between the home countries and their scattered members in every part of the United States and America. These functions of the press naturally tend to preserve the national feeling; but beyond this there is an intrinsic connection between the desire to preserve national identity and the written mother tongue. This feeling is most defined among members of the "oppressed" races, who have identified their struggle for political recognition with their struggle for their own press. However, it has been observed that nationalism is never in effective existence without a free press. Under these circumstances it is intelligible that foreign-language newspapers in America should frequently be inspired by nationalist motives and that their editors should seek to use the press as a means of preventing assimilation.

During the past generation many thousands of Slovak peasants have emigrated to the United States, carrying with them feelings of bitterness and resentment toward the authorities of their native land. They speedily learn to profit by the free institutions of their adopted country, and to-day the 400,000 Slovaks of America possess a national culture and organization which present a striking contrast to the cramped development of their kinsmen in Hungary. There are more Slovak newspapers in America than in Hungary; but the Magyars seek to redress the balance by refusing to deliver these American journals through the Hungarian post office. Everywhere among the emigrants leagues, societies, and clubs flourish undisturbed—notably the American Slovak League (*Narodnie Slovensky Spolok*), the Catholic *Jednota* (Unity), and the women's league, *Zivena*. These societies do all in their power to awaken Slovak sentiment, and contribute materially to the support of the Slovak press in Hungary.[1]

[1] Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, 1908, pp. 202–203.

Among the other foreign-language papers published in the United States are eight in the Arabic language. The Syrian population here, to which this press is addressed, is not large, and would hardly support such a variety of organs, except for the circulation of these papers abroad, particularly in Turkey. In his autobiography, Abraham Rihbany, now pastor of a Unitarian church in Boston, who at one time edited the *Kowkab America* (Star of America), the first Arabic newspaper in the United States, tells how this foreign circulation made the paper a force against assimilation. He had taken a lively interest in the political campaign of 1892, when Cleveland defeated Harrison for the presidency. This interest led him to urge his Syrian readers to become Americans.

It was my first great incentive to ask questions about and to idealize the possibilities of American citizenship. Again I was moved with stronger conviction than ever to renew my appeals in the *Kowkab* to my fellow Syrians to drink the nobler spirit and adopt the customs of free America.

Contrary, however, to my most confident expectations, the proprietor looked upon my policy with disfavor. He contended that my bugle calls to the Syrians to follow the path of American civilization were bound to arouse the suspicion of the Turkish authorities. The *Kowkab*, he said, was meant to be loyal to the Sultan, if for no other reason than because the majority of its subscribers were residents of Turkey. If Abdul Hamid should for any reason stop the circulation of the paper in his empire our whole enterprise must cease to be. The publisher also protested against any show of antagonism to Turkey in our columns, chiefly because his brother held office in one of the Turkish provinces, and he had written to our office that the least manifestation of disloyalty on our part might cost him not only his office, but his liberty as a citizen. That was a severe disappointment to me. The hand of the Turk was still heavy on me, even on Pearl Street, New York.[1]

[1] Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 1914, pp. 239–240.

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ASSIMILATION

The French Canadians in the Province of Quebec have maintained a long, bitter, and not always successful, struggle to preserve their language against the invasion of English idioms and English words. With the invasion of New England by French-Canadian laborers, this struggle has been transferred to American soil. In this country the French press seems to have played a leading role in the struggle. There was a time when the Canadian immigrants were "trembling," as Mr. Belisle, historian of the Franco-American press, puts it, "upon the abyss of assimilation." It was even true, according to Mr. Lacroix, editor of *Le Public Canadien*, that the younger generation seemed almost ashamed of their native language.

> The result has been that indifference, mingled with a little jealousy against the people of their own blood, has led them [Canadian French] to yield to the stranger and caused the loss of that preponderance upon those by whom they are surrounded that they should always seek to conserve. The moment they cease to speak their mother tongue they lose their rallying point and sense of association. As soon as their influence weakens they see day by day their nationality falling in ruins. The time when they were about to succumb under the weight of their indifference, certain friends of the nationality, seeing the abyss that they were digging under their feet, undertook some years ago a supreme effort in order to place them again in a position that their apathy had caused them to lose. It was for this purpose that the welfare societies, the literary and historical and mutual-aid societies were founded, the only means which remained to save from shipwreck the descendants of noble France.[1]

It was through the influence of the French newspapers that the French language and the French traditions were preserved. There was a time when it was even necessary to combat the influence of the Catholic clergy

[1] A. Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américain*, 1911, pp. 40–41.

—particularly was this true during the period that Cardinal, at that time Bishop, O'Connel, was located at Portland, Maine. The Lewiston *Messenger* assailed the bishop with great violence, it appears, in its struggle to maintain the rights of the French language in the churches and in the parochial schools.

Under the present bishop, Monseigneur Walsh, nominated 1907, the tone of the *Messenger* has somewhat moderated. But it has not surrendered, and it still continues the battle for the rights of the French language in the Church, in the schools—because it must be admitted that the acts of Monseigneur Walsh have somewhat exasperated our fellow countrymen in Maine—and even to-day it seems that religious peace in the diocese of Portland is still far from being re-established. As long as the subtle machinations of the higher Irish clergy continue, Rome will be in a state of ignorance with regard to the actual condition of the French Canadians in the United States; and as long as dioceses, where ours are in the majority or where they form a considerable part of the population, shall continue to be occupied by French-hating bishops, it seems, indeed, that the complete re-establishment of peace must be adjourned indefinitely.[1]

It was a French-Canadian paper, the *Public Canadian*, which was responsible for the first national organization, upon a Canadian-French nationalist basis, of the local mutual-aid societies of which there was likely to be at least one in every French colony in the United States. This federation, formed in 1868, has served to bind together all the little isolated and scattered communities, particularly in New York State and New England, and to unite them for the preservation of the language and the traditions of the French-Canadian people.

It was also in 1850, a good many years after the first Canadian families emigrated to New York, that the first society

[1] A. Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américain*, 1911, p. 206.

of St. Jean Baptiste was established in the United States. These families were on the slope which leads to the gulf of assimilation. The Canadian traditions, the French language, the family names, all that had been thrown into discard by many of our good French Canadians who believed that they were obliged to go through this metamorphosis merely because of the fact of their emigration. The *Public Canadian* appeared then at an auspicious moment. We must not find too much fault with this journal for having carried to an extreme the nationalistic propaganda. Its motives were most praiseworthy. It was in order to correct mistakes that the *Public Canadian* went a little too far in the opposite direction. We may well believe to-day that this was the best thing to do at the moment in order to arrive at the desired end — namely, the safeguarding of our language and our traditions. What is certain is this—that we see in New York at that moment the organization of a magnificent movement which has since grown and developed everywhere throughout the state of New York and New England. The revival was so general and the appeals to the national sentiment made by the *Public Canadian* made such a profound impression, that a new journal appeared upon the scene. This was the *Protecteur Canadien*, founded in May, 1868, in St. Albans, Vermont, by Monsieur l'abbe Zephirin Druon, grand vicar of the diocese of Burlington, and Monsieur Antoine Moussette. M. l'abbe Druon wrote to M. Paradis proposing a fusion of the two papers. But the latter determined to return to Kankakee, Illinois, whence he had come some years before, and he ceased the publication of the *Public Canadian* in October, 1868. The journal had had a short existence, but had made an immense impression upon the French Canadians. In outlining the organizations among them on the basis of nationalism and of language, M. Paradis recommended the first federation of the Canadian-French societies.[1]

AIMS OF NATIONALISM

The World War has profoundly altered the situation of most immigrant peoples in the United States. Many

[1] A. Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américain*, 1911, pp. 44–46.

of the races they represent have now won the independence which was the ultimate aim of the European nationalist movements. This fact removes a strong motive, that existed before 1914, for the maintenance in America of a national organization and a nationalist press, the object of which should be to preserve the immigrant peoples against the forces that were making for assimilation and Americanization.

But foreign-language institutions and agencies, the Church and the press and the nationalist societies, have sought not merely to protect against assimilation those immigrants who were here temporarily, but to preserve among those who remained permanently in the United States the traditions and language of the home country. At least, some of the leaders among the immigrant peoples have thought of the United States as a region to be colonized by Europeans, where each language group would maintain its own language and culture, using English as a *lingua franca* and means of communication among the different nationalities.

"There is no reason for the English to usurp the name of American. They should be called Yankees if anything. That is the name of English-Americans. There is no such thing as an American nation. Poles form a nation, but the United States is a country, under one government, inhabited by representatives of different nations. As to the future, I have, for my part, no idea what it will bring. I do not think that there will be amalgamation—one race composed of many. The Poles, Bohemians, and so forth, remain such, generation after generation. Switzerland has been a republic for centuries, but never has brought her people to use one language. For myself, I do favor one language for the United States—either English or some other, to be used by everyone, but there is no reason why people should not have another lan-

guage; that is an advantage, for it opens more avenues to Europe and elsewhere."[1]

From this viewpoint it is conceivable that every racial and language group should continue in this country its efforts to maintain and extend to other kindred races the influence of its language and culture. This is what the Poles have attempted to do in the case of the Lithuanians. It is what the Magyars have sought to do in the case of the Slovaks. It was to this same end that the Germans in America have striven not merely to maintain their own racial characteristics, but to make the German language and the German speech as far as possible an integral part of the cultural life of the American people.

Some years ago there appeared under the title of "The Melting Pot" a drama of which the author, a well-known Zionist leader, Israel Zangwill, announced as wisdom's last word that America has become a melting pot into which the different races and nationalities, together with everything that mark them as such—their speech, their tradition, their customs, and their rules of life—were to be thrown in order that they might there be converted into Americans.

For us German-Americans the teaching of this play is simply a mixture of insipid phrases and unhistorical thinking. It is just the contrary of that toward which we strive, and this doctrine must be so much the more sharply and decisively antagonized by us as it is enthusiastically accepted by the thoughtless rabble. For we did not come into this American nation as an expelled and persecuted race, seeking help and protection, but as a part of the nation, entitled to the same consideration as every other, and as a member of a noble race that for more than two hundred years has found here its second home and, in common with its blood-related Anglo-Saxon peoples, founded and built up this nation. Neither is it necessary for us to permit ourselves to be twisted and re-

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 1910, pp. 398–399. (Conversation with a Polish-American priest.)

formed into Americans, for we are Americans in the political sense—and only in this—as soon as we swear allegiance and unite ourselves to the common body of our German-American people. We must, however, protest in the most decided manner against the limitless assumption which would seek to force our German personality into the mold of a manufactured folk type, not only because this sort of forced uniformity would mean the destruction of all that we regard as holiest in our people and its culture, but also because such an undertaking strikes the German mind as a sacrilege. But, however praiseworthy it may seem to a shortsighted patriotism that the mixture of races and peoples of this land should be forced by every possible means into one single form, and that the God-given diversity should be permitted to be lost in an artificial mold, so much the more portentous for the future of the nation must this mistaken Roman-Gallic conception of artificial unity appear to our German minds. The illusion that it is possible to suppress or destroy the individuality of the racial type or that it is possible to force into the yoke of a single speech or a single form of government was, thanks to the German resistance, the cause of the downfall of the Roman Empire. The open or secret attempt to do away with our German cultural type—that is to say, our speech, our customs, and our views of life—in the smudge kitchen of a national melting pot has its source in a similar illusion and will likewise, even if in some other way, revenge itself.

Let us German-Americans put our trust in the secret strength of the ring which we have inherited from our fathers and "vie with one another in order to make manifest the strength of that ring." Let us believe, before all, in ourselves; our ring's strength will show itself in our children's children, in a people filled with the German ideals, in the German-American people of the future.[1]

There are only two language groups in the United States, both of them Jewish, for whom the language they speak is not associated with a movement, or at least a disposition, to preserve a nationality. These two

[1] J. Goebel, *Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika*, 1914, pp. 11–13.

languages are the Yiddish, the dialect of the Russian and Polish Jews, and Ladino, the language of the Oriental Jews. Most Jewish writers and editors say that they do not expect the Yiddish press in America long to outlast the stream of Jewish immigration. Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily *Forward*, says he has no interest in Yiddish as such, though he doesn't apologize for it. He would just as lief write to Jews in English as in Yiddish.

On the other hand, with the growth of Yiddish literature in recent years, and with the realization by Yiddish writers of the value for literary purposes of a vernacular speech in which the native sentiments and character of a people find a natural and spontaneous expression, a new attitude, a more respectful attitude, toward Yiddish has made its appearance. This feeling is undoubtedly reênforced by the Zionist movement, which is the expression of the awakening of the Jewish racial and national consciousness, even though Hebrew, and not Yiddish, is the language of Zion.

Thus a recent writer in the *Day* seeks to answer the question, "Who reads the Yiddish papers?" and comes to the conclusion that the Yiddish press is no longer confined to the "greenhorns."

> . . . Superficially, at least, the world believes that the Yiddish newspapers are being read by people who have no alternative—*i.e.*, such who are not sufficiently Americanized to read English. . . . It is generally supposed that the American-Jewish youth reads no Yiddish at all, and that our intellectual classes are ashamed of Yiddish, that our physicians, lawyers, engineers, teachers, etc., never glance at a Yiddish paper, and that, in short, it is only reading matter for the "greenhorn" or un-Americanized Jew.
>
> I am now able to refute this opinion. . . .
>
> Our readers have, of course, noticed our new "Civil Service" department in Yiddish under the caption, "How to

obtain a government position." Various positions were announced weekly, Federal and state, and I also answered questions relating to civil service.

In these Briefkasten letters, which I received from every corner of the country, there is a treasure of facts which illuminates the question as to which class the Yiddish reader in America belongs.

. . . When I first proposed this department, the project was met with derision. . . . "Those who are interested in civil service do not read Yiddish and consult the special civil-service papers in English," they said.

They argued that our readers were operators, tailors, peddlers, poor storekeepers, who do not know the meaning of civil service. . . .

First of all, we must say that most of the civil-service readers of the *Day* are versed in English. In order to pass a civil-service examination . . . it is necessary to pass in English. I have good reasons to believe that from 5 to 10 per cent of the *Day* readers are interested in civil service. . . . This, according to my statistics, shows that one out of every ten or twenty readers knows English. Moreover, these readers are American citizens. . . . They are, then, not "green" and "compelled" to read Yiddish.

The letters I receive are written in English, Yiddish, Hebrew, German, Russian, and French. The majority are, of course, in English and Yiddish, half and half. Most of the English letters are excellently written, and show that their authors are fully Americanized . . . and yet they read a Yiddish paper. . . . Some of the letters beg to be excused for not writing English. The writers include lawyers, dentists, engineers, authors, linguists, physicians, chemists, physicists, typewriters, stenographers, bookkeepers, and clerks. . . . So that many men in professions, Americanized in the fullest sense, who read English newspapers, can nevertheless not discard the Yiddish paper. . . .[1]

Another article in the *Forward* takes up the question of the Yiddish speech and reaches the conclusion from

[1] R. Fink, *Day*, July 14, 1915.

general observation that there is no longer the feverish anxiety that formerly existed among Jewish immigrants to discard the signs of their foreign descent and speak English. It is interesting, also, that this change came during the war, when immigration from Europe had practically ceased.

Do the East Side children speak more Yiddish now than they used to? Have they another feeling for it, or a different desire for its revival than heretofore?

No one has, of course, taken any census on this subject, but one may judge by general facts and general impressions. On the street, just as little Yiddish is heard to-day as in the past, and perhaps a little less. . . . About ten years ago the proportion of "green" children was higher than to-day. Then, any group of children playing around a tenement house contained always one or several who could not speak English and would speak Yiddish.

Now the proportion of "green" children is much lower, especially in the last few years since the war broke out. That is the reason why a Yiddish word is more rarely heard among the boys and girls on the street now than before. . . .

Looking into the Jewish homes, though, one sees a different picture. In thousands of homes of intelligent workingmen the parents are trying to induce their children to speak Yiddish. It is a matter of principle with them. In years past these intelligent parents would try to speak more English to their children—not for the latter's benefit, but for their own —so as to break into the English language. . . .

. . . We recall the time when there was an abyss between the parents and children. Even the more refined would be in distant contact with their parents simply because they did not understand each other and did not attempt to understand each other. Now the situation is different. It is a fact that in hundreds of Jewish homes the children, young and old, boys and girls who attend high school, who have been raised here, take an interest in Jewish newspapers, literature, and theaters.

Jewish theatrical managers declare that genuine American

Jewish boys and girls are their frequent patronizers. And because of this they find it necessary to advertise their plays in the English newspapers. The chasm between the old and new generation in the Jewish quarter is far less deep to-day than of yore. The parents understand their children better, and the latter understand their parents better. They understand each other's spirit and each other's language.[1]

Perhaps the immigrant peoples have been more successful than the native born realize in preserving their language and ideals in America, in reproducing in their homes and communities the cultural atmosphere of the homeland. A proof of this success is that frequently the immigrant, who meets everywhere in this country those who speak his own language, assumes that America is populated mainly by people of his own race.

In a composite people like the American, it is inevitable that the color of the whole should appear different to those who view it from different points. The Englishman is apt to think of the United States as literally a New England, a country inhabited in the main by two classes: on the one hand, descendants of seventeenth-century English colonists, and on the other, newly arrived foreigners.

The continental European, on the contrary, is apt to suffer from the complimentary illusion, and to believe that practically all Americans are recent European emigrants, mainly, or at least largely, from his own country. Frenchmen have insisted to me that a large proportion of the United States is French, and Germans often believe that it is mainly German and that one could travel comfortably throughout the United States with a knowledge of German alone. This is very natural. A man sees his own country people flocking to America, perhaps partly depopulating great tracts of the fatherland; he receives copies of newspapers in his own language printed in America; if he travels in America he is fêted and entertained everywhere by his own countrymen, and is shown America through their eyes. "I visited two weeks in Cedar Rapids,

[1] Jewish Daily *Forward*, March 9, 1917.

and never spoke anything but Bohemian," said a Prague friend to me. An Italian lady in Boston said, speaking in Italian, "You know, in Boston one naturally gets so little chance to hear any English," much as Americans make the corresponding complaint in Paris and Berlin.[1]

Possibly native-born Americans are subject to a similar illusion and think that the bulk of our population is made up of descendants of the Colonial settlers. In so far as this illusion holds, native Americans are likely to think there is a much greater demand than actually exists in the United States for uniformity of language and ideas.

The fact that human nature is subject to illusions of this sort may have practical consequences. It is conceivable, for example, that if it should come to be generally regarded as a mark of disloyalty or inferiority to speak a foreign language, we should reproduce in a mild form the racial animosities and conflicts which are resulting in the breaking up of the continental imperiums, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany. In all these countries the animosities appear to have been created very largely by efforts to suppress the mother tongues as literary languages.

POPULARIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

So far, immigrants have found America tolerant of their languages. English is the language of the government and of public education, but except during the war, when such publications were under special surveillance, there has been no check on any use of a foreign language as such. The intellectual representative of a suppressed race is here given a free hand to do what was prohibited at home: establish a press in his mother tongue.

[1] Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, pp. 399–400.

The foreign-language press in the United States is edited by men who have brought to this country the European conception of a press addressed exclusively to the highly educated, deliberately formal and abstruse. Naturally, at first, they seek to reproduce here the newspapers that they have known at home. To a very considerable extent they succeed; but the conditions of life in America, and particularly the conditions under which the immigrant press is published, seriously modify their effort.

It is the business manager of the paper who realizes most keenly what the paper loses by "high-brow" language. The business manager of the *Dziennik Ludowy*, the Polish Socialist paper of Chicago, said he was always begging the editors to write more simply, but they insisted on writing heavy articles that no one could understand. The business manager of the *Novy Mir* (New World), a Russian Socialist paper, said the paper was running at a deficit, but none of the editors were obliging enough to write so that they could be understood. Letters came in from the readers, who were peasants, saying: "Please send me a dictionary. I cannot read your paper"; or sending in an underlined copy of the paper with a note attached, which read: "Please tell me what this means and send the paper back to me. I paid for it and I have a right to know what it means."

The *Novy Mir* contains articles on Socialism by Lenine. One intelligent Russian, who did not have the technical vocabulary of the university, said, "I take the *Novy Mir* for Lenine's articles, and it breaks my heart to read it." The present editor, I. Hourwich, writes editorials of four columns, and he is said to be the most difficult writer to understand of all the men who have been on the *Novy Mir*. Lecturers who have traveled among the Russians in the United States say

that the peasants in their eagerness to understand what is going on in Russia puzzle over articles that no one but a philosopher could understand.

Many of the younger men who were writers for the *Novy Mir* re-emigrated to Russia at the expense of the Kerensky government in the spring of 1917 along with two or three thousand other Russians. Detsch, the first editorial writer, became a social patriot; while Trotzky, the last editorial writer, who had belonged to no party, became a Bolshevist. Many of the journalists are now writing for the official Bolshevist newspapers—the *Isvestia* and the *Pravda*—and they are writing just as they did in New York City, for the intellectuals rather than for the people. Only Volodarsky, who was the "Question and Answer" man on the *Novy Mir*, and who became "Commissaire of the Press" for the Soviet government, discovered how to write a Socialist paper for the people.

It is not only the Socialist press of the United States that writes above the heads of its readers. The big Greek dailies of New York City, the *Atlantis* and the *National Herald*, also write editorials that the readers cannot understand. While in Athens there are seven dialect papers, there is only one in the United States, the *Campana*, of New York City, which is a broadly humorous paper containing satiric verses. A plain language, similar to the spoken language, appears in the *Atlantis* and the *National Herald* only in the bitter disputes carried on between the Constantine and Venizuelos factions.[1]

The immigrant intellectual has a very poor opinion of the American newspaper and intellectual life generally, as he finds it in this country. Our newspaper, with its local news, its personal gossip, and its human-interest anecdotes, is not his conception of journalism. Its very language seems to him lamentably close to the language of the street.

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[1] Winifred Rauschenbush, *Notes on the Foreign-language Press*, New York (manuscript).

American newspapers, years ago, passed through a stage of bombast, but since the invention of yellow journalism by the elder James Gordon Bennett—that is, the invention of journalism for the frankly ignorant and vulgar—they have gone to the other extreme. . . . The great majority of our newspapers, including all those of large circulation, are chiefly written, as one observer says, "not in English, but in a strange jargon of words that would have made Addison or Milton shudder in despair." [1]

It is the American's interest in local news that justifies, perhaps, the characterization of America as a "nation of villagers." As a people, it seems we are not interested in ideas, but in gossip. That was undoubtedly the meaning of the cautious observation of a number of the Jewish *intelligentsia*, whom Hutchins Hapgood met some years ago in a Ghetto café.

"In Russia," one of them said, "a few men, really cultivated and intellectual, give the tone, and everybody follows them. In this country the public gives the tone, and the playwright and the literary man simply express the public." [2]

One ought to add, however, in order to make the statement complete, that the American public is very largely made up of the second and third generations of European peasants.

The European press was, as has been stated, addressed to the *intelligentsia*, but among immigrants, with the exception of the Jews, the Japanese, and the Letts, the *intelligentsia*, although active, is not numerous. The Ukrainians are said to have only five intellectuals in the United States. The great majority of the immigrant peoples are peasants; they speak dialects and read with difficulty. It becomes necessary, there-

[1] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 1919, p. 313.

[2] Hutchins Hapgood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto*, 1902 and 1909, p. 282.

fore, for the editor of an immigrant paper to make all sorts of concessions to the intelligence of his public.

He usually finds, with a little experience, that his own readers have the vulgar tastes of the American public in an even more primitive form, and that he must do violence to most of his journalistic ideals in order to hold their attentions.

The first concession the editor makes is in style and language. In order to get his paper read, he must write in the language his public speaks. If the literary form of his language differs widely from the vernacular, he will have to abandon it in whole or in part for the dialect spoken by the majority of his readers.

All Croatian papers in America are written in the prevalent literary style, and the same as is used in Croatia. In some of them there appears from time to time a composition in one of the several dialects, mostly as a humoristic, entertaining fiction. We have in America a few capable fellows who do such writing. I myself do it from time to time, using the most characteristic dialect, *kajkavstina*, which was before the literary reformation the dialect of our early scholars (before 1835).[1]

The *Romanul*, of Cleveland, the only Rumanian daily of the United States, has articles in the Transylvanian vernacular, as 90 per cent of the Rumanians in this country, it is estimated, come from Transylvania. The Rumanian paper of New York City, the *Desteaptate Romane*, has fiction and verse contributed by one of the readers in the Transylvanian dialect. In general, an attempt is made to write the articles in this paper, if not completely in the dialect style, at least using words that are not the correct Rumanian of the kingdom of

[1] Francis K. Kolander, editor of *Zajednicar*, organ of Narodna Hrvatska Zajednica Society, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. (Correspondence, October 27, 1919.)

Rumania, but are familiar dialect words understood by any Rumanian. The word for "pocket," which is *jep* or *jepul* in the dialect, is *luzanar* in correct Rumanian. Sometimes the editor compromises by writing in the literary language on the editorial pages, discussing the conventional themes, while the rest of the paper is made up of hasty translations from the American newspapers, written in jargon, words from the vernacular interspersed with American idioms and American words with foreign endings.

The editor must make other concessions, to the interests of his readers, which take him still farther from the traditions of the European press.

The peasants are sentimental; the editor prints poetry for them in the vernacular. He fills the paper with cheap fiction and writes loud-sounding editorials, double-leaded, so that they will be easily read. The readers are very little interested in abstract discussion, so the paper is more and more devoted to the dramatic aspects of the news and those close to their own lives, the police news, labor news, and local gossip.

Sometimes the publisher is himself an ignorant man, or at least not an intellectual, who looks upon his paper as some American publishers do, as an advertising medium, which prints news merely to get circulation. These men know their public and insist on printing in the paper what their subscribers are interested in and able to read. It is said that one of the most successful Chinese editors in America cannot read the editorials in his own paper because he does not understand the literary language. Some of the most successful foreign-language papers are published by men who do not make any pretensions to education and are regarded by the writers they employ as ignoramuses. When the writers for the press despise both their employers and their public, as they sometimes do, not much can be ex-

pected from the newspaper which they succeed in producing.

The following description of an immigrant newspaper from the inside is not to be regarded as characteristic of all immigrant newspapers. It certainly would not be representative of the Socialistic and radical press. There is generally a very real sympathy and a good deal of understanding among the editors of the radical papers for the European peasant, especially after he has been transformed in this country into a laborer and proletarian. He then becomes a representative of the class for which the radical press mainly exists. But the remoteness from life of the aristocratic immigrant intellectual editor put to it for capital is reflected in this description.

The editors of the *Szabadsag* have a curious theory which shocked me a great deal when I first joined the paper, but which I found later was working smoothly enough. It is usually summed up in the motto, "Anything is good enough for the "buddy"—buddy being the universally used term for the Hungarian immigrant worker. The word, adopted originally by the Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal miners, has been assimilated into the American Magyar idiom and is now spelled "bodi"; by the "intellectuals" it is mostly used as a term of amiable contempt. The average Magyar reader has no sense whatever for news value; in the outlying districts he gets Monday's *Szabadsag* on Wednesday, then saves it for Sunday, when the whole week's editions are carefully perused from beginning to end. The "buddy" calls any item found in a newspaper a *hirdetes*, meaning advertisement; the editorials, the news and feature stories, are all "advertisements." This does not imply—what is often the truth—that these items have been paid for; advertisement in the American Magyar idiom simply means reading matter. The big display ads. of patent-medicine druggists are perused just as religiously as the front-page war stories. In fact, they are liked better, because they are printed in bigger type and

are more closely related to everyday life. And, indeed, while the editorial and news columns in most Magyar papers are written with an almost incredible carelessness, these "real" advertisements often display much ingenuity and skill—in a way, they are the most "American" items in the whole paper. It is customary for the big druggists, most of whom do mail-order business on a national scale, to employ editorial writers on the *Nepszava* and *Szabadsag* for writing advertising "copy," and there was a time when this "side line" netted more for some of the editors than their regular salaries. . . .

Here I wish to say that, in the case of the Hungarian-American newspapers within the range of my personal observation, the leading consideration, as far as details of editorial routine were concerned, was simply to get the paper out with as little effort as possible. Viewpoints of editorial and even of business policy were frequently overshadowed by the editors' unwillingness to exert themselves, by their determination to "take it easy." In other words, a more or less unconscious editorial sabotage was being practiced. The explanation lies in the conditions of the trade and the type of man engaged in editing Hungarian-American newspapers. The men working on the editorial staffs of the *Szabadsag* and *Nepszava* are not, for the most part, professional journalists at all—that is, they were not journalists in the old country; they came to the United States, not in the hopeful mood of young men determined to make good, but simply because this seemed to them the only way out of a maze of failures and mistakes. Without any particular training, without in most cases a knowledge of English, but with a strong aversion to strenuous work, they drifted into the offices of Magyar newspapers here, because they were not fitted for anything else; they considered their jobs as a sort of last refuge. In the lack of opportunity afforded by competition, real advancement is blocked to them; they are fully at the mercy of two employers—those of the *Szabadsag* and *Nepszava*. A few of them are sustained by the hope that they will ultimately be able to get out of the game; the rest, being well up in the thirties, have not even this hope left. They resign themselves to a hand-to-mouth existence, and simply cease to care.

It is not merely a matter of being overworked and underpaid; working conditions are notoriously bad in the case of the average American newspaper man, but for him there is always a chance of advancement. In the Hungarian-American press such chance does not exist; there are about a dozen jobs to go around, and no hope to come out on the top. To work on the *Nepszava* or *Szabadsag* means not only getting into a rut, but being bottled up in a cul-de-sac. From the publisher's point of view, the matter is almost equally hopeless; there is no supply of fresh talent to draw upon, but always the same crowd of twenty or thirty individuals; and in the absence of competition it hardly matters whether you turn out a good sheet or a bad one, except that it is cheaper, all told, to turn out a bad one. In trying to understand the failure of the Hungarian-American press to develop a single genuinely progressive organ of education and opinion, the psychology of the Hungarian-American editor must be taken into account

In regard to the smaller "one-man" weeklies, the situation is not much better. For the publisher-owner-editor the chance of "making good" has hardly anything to do with the journalistic-literary quality of his sheet. As a rule, he has no local competitor, and his sources of revenue lie mostly in the way of the petty graft of parish politics and fraternal-society intrigue.

I do not hesitate to say that in the instances within my range of observation the influence exerted by the *Szabadsag* and *Nepszava* on the social life among Hungarian-Americans has been almost without exception an evil one. This is to be accounted for, not by any particular personal wickedness on the part of publishers, but by the isolation of the Hungarian-American settlements and the fact that Hungarian-American newspaper power constitutes a monopoly compared to which the condition of the American press seems democratic. In a manner of speaking, these two dailies appear with the exclusion of publicity. There is no competition whatever. No movement can aspire to success without their approval and active support; their enmity means almost invariably failure for any social venture; and while their power for good

is rather restricted, their power for evil is, within their own circle, practically limitless. And this power is wielded mostly to promote ends of personal vanity and ambition and revenge.

To be ignored or "teased" by these papers means, for the Hungarian business or professional man making his fortune among his people, almost certain ruin. And the worst of it is that the injured party—unless it be a matter of criminal libel—has no way at his disposal to seek redress.

Apart from a few isolated occasions I recall, it hardly ever happened that a weekly paper dared to engage in a fight against the powerful dailies; and even if it dared, its case would be hopeless; most of them command merely a local audience, and the two dailies have their ways and means of intimidation, and worse.

The *Elore*, of course, is another matter; but this labors under the handicap of being a Socialist paper. No "bourgeois" society or business or professional man would care or dare to lean upon the *Elore* against the two other dailies.

The most disgusting feature of the situation is probably the circumstance that the participants are practically always the same people, only lined up in different formations against one another. The only people who profit from this constant permutation of groups and parties within the ranks of the Hungarian intellectuals are the Socialists, one of whose chief propaganda weapons among the Hungarian workers in their permanent campaign, through the *Elore*, is the corruption of "bourgeois" fraternal societies and parish politics.[1]

The instability, lack of a policy, and general disorder exhibited by the Magyar press is likely to be characteristic of the press of all recent immigrants. It reflects the disorder that inevitably exists in every immigrant community before it has succeeded in accommodating itself to the American environment. It is not characteristic of the press of the older and more firmly established immigrant communities, like the Germans, Scandinavians, or any of those immigrants who have be-

[1] Eugene S. Bagger, *The Hungarian Press in America* (manuscript).

come permanently settled in the rural communities and small towns. This disorder means, specifically, that change and accommodation are going on.

On the whole, the significant changes that take place in the foreign-language press, under the influence of American conditions, have been in the direction of a simpler diction, closer to the despised vernacular; more attention to police news, and to personal items, matters of mere human interest; finally the substitution of nationalism and Socialism and conflicts within the immigrant community for the political discussions of the European press. This general lowering of the tones of the foreign-language papers has created a public in this country composed of peoples who, in their home country, would have read little or nothing at all. The following excerpts from the testimony of three members of the Russian Union, who were examined with reference to deportation, probably indicates the average mental caliber of the readers of *Novy Mir:* [1]

Naum Stepanauk, of Brest-Litovsk:

Naum Stepanauk was a farm worker in Russia. He seldom read newspapers, and no philosophical or scientific books. When he came to the United States he went to New Castle, Pennsylvania, to the address of a man whom he knew. Then he spent three years in the mines at Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, and from there he went to Roderfield, West Virginia, and the Kansas farms. He also worked in a shop in Ohio, and in the smelters and mines of Pueblo, Colorado. In Akron he had a job with the Goodrich Rubber Company. His average wage there was twenty-four dollars a week.

Stepanauk is a member of the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers. He said that his purpose in joining it was to educate himself further. Among a great deal of literature that he had, much of which had been left him by friends who had gone to Russia, he had actually read the following: Gorki, Tolstoi, Korylenko, *House No. 13*, L. Kralsky; *Sacrifice of War*, Kropotkin, an anticlerical pamphlet, and a song book.

He was elected secretary of the Akron branch because he could write.

He explained that one of the aims of the organization was to teach men Russian as well as English, as very many members of the organization cannot read Russian. When asked why it would be of value to them to know Russian, he said, "So that they may understand life, their own lives." When asked whether he knew about the government of Russia in 1917, he replied that he knew only in a vague way. When asked, in connection with the lectures and classes of the Federation, whether he was not very little interested in forms of government, he replied, "Yes, I was only interested in Russia." When asked why he wanted to go back to Russia, he said, "Because I was born in Russia, and it is binding to that country because my ideals are there." Anarchy he understood to be love, equality, and construction.

Powell Kreczin, of Saratov, Russia:

When asked how he could tell the good from the bad, Kreczin replied: "Other people tell me what is good and what is not good. I, myself, do not understand many things." When asked who told him what was good and what was bad, he replied that those people had all gone back to Russia; and when asked whether the people who were arrested with him instructed him, he said, "They are all of the same caliber as I am; they do not know anything for themselves."

This man did not know that a republic does not have a king. All he knew was the word "republic" and the name "Wilson." When asked about the songs sung at the Union, he said, "There is one about a fellow who was sent to exile, a good, strong, husky fellow." When asked about the books he read, he said, "I was interested in works about culture and about the sea; I cannot recall what works the others were."

Nicolai Volosuk, of Grodno, Russia:

Volosuk was a member of the Federation of Russian Unions. Copies of the *Golos Truda* and the *Khlieb i Volya* were sold at their meetings. In his leisure time Volosuk attended a self-educational school, where he learned about botany, forestry, "where coal comes from, and how it is formed." When

asked whether he ever read books on social subjects, he did not understand the term. Did he ever read books on government or philosophy? He replied, "I never read big books." When asked "If you were given a book like this in Russian, would you understand the language?" he said, "If the book were written very *literate*, I don't think I could understand." When asked whether he believed in Bolshevism, he said, "I only believe that if I go back to Russia I would have some land."

Here for the first time, with few exceptions, the European peasants find newspapers written about things that interest them, in the languages they speak. Here for the first time the reading habit is established among them. The newspaper brings them into contact with the current thought and the current events of their community, primarily the race group, with its interests merging on one side into the homeland and on the other into the larger American community. Gradually, and largely through the efforts of the Socialist press, the reading habit establishes the thinking habit. The net result has been to raise the intellectual level of the immigrant body.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE MODIFIED

The immigrant press, despised by the foreign intellectuals for its vulgarity, has power among its readers rarely equaled by more literary journals. Having created its reading public, it monopolizes it to a great extent. Nationalistic editors seek to use this monopoly to keep their readers' interest and activity focused on the home country. But under the terms of its existence the press is apt to aid rather than prevent the drift toward the American community.

This process of Americanization by contact can be seen very plainly in the changes introduced into the

speech of the immigrants. Even in the rural communities, where the foreign language is preserved longer than elsewhere, it tends to become Americanized, or at least localized. This is illustrated in the case of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

The *Morgenstern* was written for the Germans of Pennsylvania, who spoke a mixed language based on the Pfaelzer dialect and modified by the adoption of many English words and phrases.

The first words that are adopted from the American are such words as "basement." Striking verbs are also introduced: Ich habe *geketscht* einen *Kold* (I have caught [catched] a cold). Ich bin *aufgejumpt* wie ein junger Hirsch (I jumped up like a young deer).

Business transactions also serve to introduce the phrases used by Americans. An advertiser in the *Morgenstern*, after beginning his ad. in Hoch-Deutsch, finished it in Pennsylvania Dutch: Wir sind *determt Bissness zu tun* (We are determined to do business). Kommt wir wollen *einen Bargen machen* (Come, we will make a bargain). Wir *trihten* sie wie ein *Gentleman* (We will treat you like a gentleman). Sie sen *gesatisfeit* (They were satisfied).

Pieces of furniture or articles of clothing that were different from those in Germany were usually referred to by their English names. The writer of a letter which was published in the paper contrasts the conditions in an Indian (Insching) hut with the civilization of the towns: Do waren Wir net *getruvelt* mit Lichter, Schaukelstuhle, un carpets (We were not troubled with lights, rocking chairs, and carpets); im Parlor (in the parlor); Net *gebattert* von *Hupps*, oder 17 *Unterrock*, *Teitlacking*, un seidens *Dresses* (Not bothered with hoops, or 17 petticoats, tight lacing, or silk dresses).[1]

Yiddish has been peculiarly hospitable to new and strange words, taking up with and giving currency to every convenient locution and every striking phrase, from the languages with which it came in contact.

[1] *Der Morgenstern und Bucks und Montgomery Counties Berichter.*

The changes that Yiddish has undergone in America, though rather foreign to the present inquiry, are interesting enough to be noticed. First of all, it has admitted into its vocabulary a large number of everyday substantives, among them "boy," "chair," "window," "carpet," "floor," "dress," "hat," "watch," "ceiling," "consumption," "property," "trouble," "bother," "match," "change," "party," "birthday," "picture" (only in the sense of newspaper), "gambler," "show," "hall," "kitchen," "store," "bedroom," "key," "mantelpiece," "closet," "lounge," "broom," "tablecloth," "paint," "landlord," "fellow," "tenant," "shop," "wages," "foreman," "sleeve," "collar," "cuff," "button," "cotton," "thimble," "needle," "pocket," "bargain," "sale," "remnant," "sample," "haircut," "razor," "waist," "basket," "school," "scholar," "teacher," "baby," "mustache," "butcher," "grocery," "dinner," "street," and "walk." And with them many characteristic Americanisms; for example, "bluffer," "faker," "boodler," "grafter," "gangster," "crook," "guy," "kike," "piker," "squealer," "bum," "cadet," "boom," "bunch," "pants," "vest," "loafer," "jumper," "stoop," "saleslady," "ice box," and "raise," and with their attendant verbs and adjectives. These words are used constantly; many of them have quite crowded out the corresponding Yiddish words. For example, *ingel*, meaning boy (it is Slavic loan-word in Yiddish), has been obliterated by the English word. A Jewish immigrant almost invariably refers to his "son" as his "boy," though strangely enough he calls his daughter his *meidel*. "Die boys mit die meidlach haben a good time!" is excellent American Yiddish. In the same way *fenster* has been completely displaced by window, though *tur* (door) has been left intact. *Tisch* (table) also remains, but chair is always used, probably because few of the Jews had chairs in the old country. There the *beinkel*, a bench without a back, was in use; chairs were only for the well-to-do. "Floor" has apparently prevailed because no invariable corresponding word was employed at home; in various parts of Russia and Poland a floor is a *dill*, a *poologe*, or a *bricke*. So with the ceiling. There were six different words for it.

Yiddish inflections have been fastened upon most of these loan-words. Thus, "er hat ihm abgefaked" is, "he cheated him," *zuhumt* is the American gone to the bad, *fix'n* is to fix, *usen* is to use, and so on. The feminine and diminutive suffix *ke* is often added to nouns. Thus, bluffer gives rise to *blufferke* (hypocrite), and one also notes *dresske*, *hatke*, *watchke*, and *bummerke*. "Oi! is sie a blufferke!" is good American Yiddish for "isn't she a hypocrite!" The suffix *nick*, signifying agency, is also freely applied. *Allrightnick* means an upstart, an offensive boaster, one of whom his fellows would say "he is all right" with a sneer. Similarly, *consumptionick* means a victim of tuberculosis. Other suffixes are *chick* and *ige*, the first exemplified in *boychick*, a diminutive of boy, and the second in *next-doorige*, meaning the woman next door, an important person in Ghetto social life. Some of the loan-words, of course, undergo changes on Yiddish-speaking lips. Thus, landlord becomes *lendler*, lounge becomes *lunch*, tenant becomes *tenner*, and whiskers loses its final s. "Wie gefallt dir sein whisker?" (How do you like his beard?) is good Yiddish, ironically intended. Fellow, of course, changes to the American feller, as in "Rosie hat schona feller" (Rosie has got a fellow—*i.e.*, a sweetheart). Show, in the sense of chance, is used constantly, as in "git him a show" (give him a chance). Bad boy is adopted bodily, as in "er is a bad boy." To shut up is inflected as one word, as in "er hat nit gewolt shutup'n" (he wouldn't shut up). To catch is used in the sense of to obtain, as in "catch'n a gmilath chesed" (to raise a loan). Here, by the way, *gmilath chesed* is excellent biblical Hebrew. "To bluff," unchanged in form, takes on the new meaning of to lie; a bluffer is a liar. Scores of American phrases are in constant use, among them, "all right," "never mind," "I bet you," "no, sir," and "I'll fix you." It is curious to note that "sure, Mike," borrowed by the American vulgate from Irish English, has gone over into American Yiddish. Finally, to make an end, here are two complete and characteristic American-Yiddish sentences: "Sie wet clean'n die rooms, scrub'n dem floor, wash'n die windows, dress'n dem boy, und

gehn in butcher store und in grocery. Der noch vet sie machen dinner und gehn in street fur a walk." [1]

"Pennsylvania Dutch" is almost as distinct from the German of modern Germany as Yiddish is. What is true of German is likewise true of the Scandinavian languages, that the Scandinavian press makes no concessions to the barbarisms of the Americanized language. The effect of this is that the written and the spoken language are steadily drifting apart. So far as this is true the language of the Scandinavian press is becoming a dead language.

In the community where I was brought up Norse is spoken almost exclusively, but with a vocabulary freely mixed with English words and idioms, the words often mutilated beyond recognition by an American—and, of course, utterly unintelligible to a Norseman recently from the old country. In the case of many words the younger generation cannot tell whether they are English or Norse. I was ten or twelve years old before I found out that such words as *pa tikkele* (particular), *stœbel* (stable), *fens* (fence), were not Norse but mutilated English words. I had often wondered that *poleit, trubbel, soppereter*, were so much like the English words polite, trouble, separator. So common is this practice of borrowing that no English word is refused admittance into this vocabulary provided it can stand the treatment it is apt to get. Some words are, indeed, used without any appreciable difference in pronunciation, but more generally the root, or stem, is taken, and Norse inflections are added as required by the rules of the language.[2]

The language of the American Poles, though still etymologically Polish, contains an increasing number of American

[1] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 1919, pp. 155–157. (A footnote to this passage credits Abraham Cahan for the information in this passage.)

[2] Nils Flaten, *Notes on American Norwegian, with a Vocabulary, Dialect Notes*, vol. ii, Part ii, 1900, p. 115.

slang words which are treated as roots and used with Polish inflections and prefixes, but their syntax and literary application (the latter more easily influenced than etymology by changes in the form of thought) are growing more and more specifically local, and neither Polish nor American.[1]

The culture of the immigrants is also influenced by American life and tends to become, like their speech, neither American nor foreign, but a combination of both.

I might sum up my general impression of Polish-American life in the following way:

The fact that the social atmosphere here struck me at once as non-Polish cannot be attributed to the mere addition of American elements to the stock of Polish culture which the immigrants possessed, for after a closer acquaintance with American life I could not recognize the essential features of American culture in those non-Polish characters of Polish-American society, and at this moment the latter seems more unfamiliar to me than any of the American social circles I know, which range from Middle West university professors to New England fishermen.

Of course, the contents of this new "Polish-American" culture are drawn chiefly from Polish, but partly from American life. For instance, the roots of the language are 95 per cent Polish, 5 per cent American slang. But not only are those contents mixed and melted, but they have received a form which is essentially original. Thus, not only do English words receive Polish inflexions, prefixes, and suffixes, and vice versa—the etymology of Polish words is sometimes simplified according to English models—but the construction of the phrase is entirely peculiar; not Polish, but not imitated from English either. Similarly, the social ceremonial includes some fragments of the Polish peasant ceremonial, a few notions imperfectly borrowed from the Polish upper classes, a few American customs, all this still very roughly combined but already showing a tendency to simplification and organization.

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. v.

These original features of the Polish-American culture which at this moment, in view of the low level of this culture and of its recent beginnings, are difficult to characterize in exact terms, have probably their source in the fact that the immigrants are mostly recruited from the peasant class and have here to adapt themselves to conditions entirely different from the traditional ones. The peasant class has not participated much in the higher Polish culture which has been, and still is, chiefly the product of the upper and middle classes, and those peasants who actually do participate in it seldom emigrate. Thus the peasant brings with him here only his own particular class culture, fully adapted to the specific conditions of agricultural communities; and he is forced to drop much of it in the new industrial environment and to substitute something else instead. The higher Polish culture, which a few of the Polish intellectual leaders try to impose upon him, contains some elements which he accepts and adapts to his own use; but most of it has no vital significance for him, and grows more and more distant with the progressive adaptation to the new circumstances. Thus, for instance, the official language in which formal speeches are made, and reports of institutions written, is hollow and bombastic; the professed acceptance of the Polish national ideal is with the great majority purely superficial, like a Sunday dress, etc. Art, particularly music, is perhaps the only field in which Polish cultural values really mean something to the immigrant colonies. On the other hand, of the American values only a few are really felt as important by the immigrant community, particularly in the first generation, and these are selected and reinterpreted in a way which often makes them entirely unrecognizable. In this case, the selection being made freely, not under the pressure of leaders, whatever American elements enter into the current of Polish-American life are vital at once, and the second generation acquires more, and understands and assimilates better, so that there is a gradual drifting of the whole Polish-American society toward American culture.

But at the same time this society continues to evolve in its own specific line and—like every living society—produced

in addition to the Polish and American values it assimilates new and original customs, beliefs, ways of thinking, institutions; this original productivity prevents its complete absorption in the American *milieu* probably as much as the Polish traditions. However, the fact that this Polish-American society is enveloped by a higher cultural *milieu* must keep its own specific culture always on a low level, since with a few exceptions all the individuals who grow able to appreciate and produce higher values naturally tend to participate in American life; they do not lose contact with their original *milieu*, but this contact becomes limited to primary-group relations, whereas the result of their productive activity, performed with the help of American secondary institutions, goes to American society.[1]

It is a question whether the foreign-language press is a brake or an accelerator in this process of assimilation. The editor of the Lithuanian paper *Draugas* has asserted that it is, on the whole, a means of segregating and isolating the foreign-language communities and so preventing assimilation. Other editors have asserted that it assists the immigrants, particularly the first generation, to orient themselves in the American environment and share in the intellectual, political, and social life of the community.

In the Swedish and Norwegian wards of such cities as Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Rockford, and in a county like Goodhue in Minnesota, where the presence of large numbers of the foreign born makes the use of the foreign tongue imperative in the homes, streets, markets, and places of business, and where the news is read in a Scandinavian daily or weekly, the tendency to keep the speech of their ancestors is strong. The preacher and the politician alike understand this, and the literature, speeches, and even the music, in the campaigns for personal and civic righteousness are presented

[1] From a personal letter of Florian Znaniecki, Professor of Philosophy, University of Posen.

in no unknown tongue, as the theological seminaries and Scandinavian departments in other institutions, and the Swedish and Norwegian political orators in critical years, bear abundant witness.[1]

The mere facts of residence and employment give the immigrant an interest in American events, customs, ideas. He needs some familiarity with these in order to "get along." The foreign-language press must print American news to fill this need of its readers, and by so doing it hastens the development of this personal necessity into a general interest in America.

Editors of the foreign-language papers have claimed that their press is not merely a medium for the communication of news, thus initiating the immigrant into American environment, but is likewise a means of translating and transmitting to him American ways and American ideals.[2]

It is in accordance with this conception of the role of the foreign-language press that the Interracial Council purposes to Americanize the immigrant by encouraging American manufacturers to advertise in foreign-language papers. "Practical Americanization is the use of American things, and by using them getting our foreign people to like them and prefer them to other things."[3]

It seems fairly clear that what the foreign-language press actually does, whether or not the editors desire it, is to facilitate the adjustment of the foreign born to the American environment, an adjustment that results in something that is not American, at least according

[1] C. H. Babcock, "Religious and Intellectual Standpoint," in *The Scandinavian Element in the United States*, pp. 123–124.

[2] Frank Zotti, "Croatians: Who They Are, and How to Reach Them," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, 29, no. 5, p. 19.

[3] Coleman T. Du Pont, "The Interracial Council: What It Is and Hopes to Do," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, 29, no. 5, pp. 1–2.

to the standards of an earlier period, but that is not foreign either, according to existing European standards.

How far the foreign-language press enables the immigrant to *participate* in the national life is the question raised by a study of Americanization methods. For it is participation rather than submission or conformity that makes Americans of foreign-born peoples.

IV

ENLIGHTENMENT THROUGH THE PRESS

In the Yiddish press the foreign-language newspaper may be said to have achieved form. All the tendencies and all the motives, which other divisions of the immigrant press exhibit imperfectly, are here outstanding and manifest. No other press has attained so complete a simplification of the racial language, nor created so large a reading public. No other foreign-language press has succeeded in reflecting so much of the intimate life of the people which it represents, or reacted so powerfully upon the opinion, thought, and aspiration of the public for which it exists. This is particularly true of the Yiddish daily newspapers in New York City.

In the course of its brief history, from the establishment in 1872 of the first weekly paper, the *Jüdische Post*, to the present time, the Yiddish press in New York City has passed through all the stages of evolution represented by existing publications of other language groups. Because the Yiddish press exhibits in its history and its present form the general trend in other groups, it may be regarded as typical of the development of the foreign-language press.

From 1872 to 1917, there appeared in New York City about one hundred and fifty publications. These publications appealed to a multitude of readers, running into the hundreds of thousands, and holding the widest views on all subjects under the sun. For, unlike the Jewish press in English, the

one printed in Yiddish is the only source of information for its readers, and consequently deals with an enormously wide and current range of topics. We find in Yiddish all sorts of journals, trade and professional journals, humorous and serious newspapers, business journals, while every party in New York Jewry, beginning with the most orthodox, and ending with the anarchist, has an organ of its own. We have lived to see even the publication of a newspaper in Yiddish dealing with matrimony.[1]

The first thing the Jews learned to value and to make free use of [in America] was the newspaper. A large number of these were started in the first ten years of the great immigration, but most of them have been of short duration. In the struggle for existence, the oldest newspaper, that had had its beginning in 1874, came out victorious. It bought out and consolidated twenty Jewish dailies and weeklies, and now appears in the form of the *Jewish Gazette*, as the representative of the more conservative faction of the Russian Jews of America. But the most active in that field of literature were those who, at the end of the 'eighties, clustered around the newspapers that were published in the interest of the Jewish laborers. Of these, *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (the predecessor of the *Forward*) was the most prominent.[2]

FACTORS IN SUCCESS

There are several reasons why the Yiddish press in New York City, particularly in the field of daily journalism, should more quickly and more effectively than the press of any other language group obtain a form and content, a technique, in short, adapted to the needs of an immigrant community. It has a large and compact audience, drawn from many social classes. It created and monopolizes a great part of its reading public. It is printed in the language commonly spoken by its readers.

[1] *Jewish Communal Register*, 1917–18, pp. 600–601.

[2] Leo Wiener, "Prose Writers in America," in *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, 1899, p. 219.

Newspapers, particularly daily newspapers, flourish only in large cities, where there is a possibility of big circulations. The circulation area of the daily newspaper situated in a large city, the area within which circulation is profitable, is a circle with a radius of fifty miles. It coincides with the area within which the railways sell commutation tickets, to and from the metropolis. This holds true in general for the foreign-language daily papers, as well as the American, though not to the same extent.

It is estimated that there are no less than 1,500,000 Jews, more than one-fourth of the entire population, living in New York City to-day.[1] Probably more than two-thirds of these represent immigrants from countries where Yiddish is the mother language of Jews. A population at once so large, compact, and homogeneous —the largest immigrant community in existence—offers an exceptional field for newspaper enterprise.

The actual circulation of the Yiddish daily press reached its highest point in 1916, when 532,787 copies of papers were circulated in the circulation area of which New York City is the center.[2] In the case of the Jewish Daily *Forward*, this area included Boston and Chicago. The present circulation of the Yiddish dailies published in New York is:[3]

Forward	143,716
Day-Warheit	78,901
Morning Journal	75,861
Daily News	57,784
	356,262

The only other foreign-language publications in the

[1] *The Jewish Communal Register*, 1917–18, pp. 75–109.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 613.

[3] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

United States that compare in circulation with the Yiddish, are:[1]

TABLE III

CIRCULATION OF LARGEST FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PAPERS

	Dailies	
Italian	*Progresso Italo-Americano*	108,137
	Bollettino della Sera	60,000
	Weeklies and Monthlies	
German	*Frei Press*	121,749
	Deutsch-Amerikanischer Farmer	121,712
	Westlicher Herold	58,000
	Deutsche Hausfrau	50,000
Swedish	*Svenska Americanaren*	62,282
Norwegian-Danish	*Kvinden og Hjemmet*	52,083
Polish	*Zgoda*	125,000
	Ameryka-Echo	100,000
	Guiazda Polarna	89,785
	Narod Polski	80,000
Spanish	*Pictorial Review* (Spanish edition)	125,000

The audience of the New York Yiddish papers is not only large and compact, but also diversified. The Jews are the only race who migrate *en masse*. The immigrants of other nationalities—Polish, Italian, and Scandinavian—are in large part land-hungry peasants who come here either to settle or to make enough money to return to Europe and buy land. Among Jewish immigrants all classes are represented: the village artisan, the city merchant, and the intellectual. Other language groups have to create their intellectuals from the

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

second generation of peasant parents, or accept such as chance bestows upon them. Other language groups bring to this country the cultures of peasant peoples. The Jew brings with him a civilization. This circumstance gives the Yiddish press a more diverse reading public, more aspects of life to use as material, and more journalistic talent to draw upon.

Monopoly of its public has forced upon the press a many-sided development.

The Yiddish press in New York City differs in many essentials from the other divisions of the Jewish press. First, it has the peculiar distinction of having practically created its own reading public. Very few of the people who are now readers of the Yiddish papers in New York City had ever read any journals while on the other side of the Atlantic. As Shomer, the noted Yiddish novelist, created a Yiddish-reading public by the publication of his novels, so the Yiddish papers taught the East-European Jew in America to read newspapers by coming out every day for his special benefit. Then, too, the readers of the Yiddish papers, being newly made readers, have read very little outside, perhaps, of the *Chumosh* [part of the Bible]. The Yiddish newspaper, therefore, is their only education and their chief educative influence. Here may be found the origin of the make-up of the Yiddish paper, which is radically different from that of the English newspaper. While the English newspaper is primarily organized for the conveying of news, the Yiddish paper must also be a literary journal, printing short stories, novels, articles on popular science, theology, and politics. It explains also the marvelous influence of the Yiddish press. No other press in the world exercises such a monopoly on the mind-content of its readers. While, for instance, it is possible for a political candidate in New York City to get elected in the face of the strong opposition of almost the entire English press, the election of any candidate on the East Side is impossible unless the Yiddish press favors him. . . .

If we add to this the fact that the Jewish newspapers have guided the Jewish masses to an understanding and appreciа-

tion of modern literary forms, we have the outstanding features of the character of the Yiddish press.[1]

The Yiddish press is written in the spoken language. Hebrew was, and is, the language of Jewish scholars, but Yiddish is the language of the people. Like other folk languages, Yiddish has only recently been made a medium for literary expression.

Also, like other folk languages, it has acquired dialectical differences in the different regions in which it is spoken. The Yiddish of Lithuania is different from the Yiddish of Galicia, and the Yiddish of the United States is different from both.

Yiddish, which is an English translation of the German word *Jüdisch*, is the name of the language which was spoken by the Jews of Germany in the Middle Ages, which they carried with them on their forced emigration in the sixteenth century into Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia, and which now forms the principal medium of intercourse of more than 6,000,000 people. Its basis is the High German of the middle Rhine district, which was spoken by Jew and Christian alike; but it was written in Hebrew characters, and upon being translated to Slavonic soil it absorbed Russian and Polish words and inflections from its new environment and appropriated many expressions and idioms from the Hebrew vocabulary, particularly those relating to religious matters, while it underwent variations of pronunciation and orthography in different regions, and has even annexed a great number of English words and phrases in its latter-day development in England and America.[2]

In the early part of the nineteenth century there was a literary development of Yiddish, the spoken language. Up to that time Jewish literature and Jewish learning had been confined almost wholly to Hebrew. The *Haskala*, or Enlightenment, as the movement was called,

[1] *Jewish Communal Register*, 1917–18, pp. 612–615.

[2] Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, 1914, pp. 242–243.

was part of the "reformation" begun by Moses Mendelsohn, which resulted in the Jews of Germany giving up their former isolation and their Judeo-German dialect, in order to participate in the larger cultural life of the nation. Although it did not aim directly at the revival of the folk speech, the *Haskala* encouraged its use for literary purposes, because it was only through the medium of the vernacular press that it was possible to educate the masses of the people. However, it was not until the 'sixties that books of instruction, histories and geographies, for the most part, were first printed in Yiddish. The use of the vernacular in the American-Yiddish press is the basic reason for its tremendous popularity and influence.

HISTORY OF THE YIDDISH PRESS

The earliest Yiddish papers published in America, like Bernstein's *Post* (1872) and the *Jewish Gazette*, were, to some extent, German papers printed in Hebrew characters.

Many years before the great immigration of the Jews had begun, there was a sufficiently large community of Russian Jews resident in New York to support a newspaper. In the 'seventies there existed there a weekly, the *Jewish Gazette*, and there was at least one bookstore, that of the firm of Kantrowitz, that furnished the colony with Judeo-German reading matter. . . . Whether they wished so or not, they [Lithuanians and Polish] were rapidly being amalgamated, on the one side by the German Jews, on the other by the American people at large. Many tried to hide their nationality, and even their religion, since the Russian Jews did not stand in good repute then. The vernacular was only used as the last resort of those who had not succeeded in acquiring a ready use of the English language, and its approach to the literary German was even greater than that attempted by Dick at about the same time in Russia. However, English words had begun to

creep in freely and to modify the Germanized dialect. It is evident that the seeds of the American Judeo-German, as it may now be found in the majority of words printed in New York, had been sown even then. The proneness to use a large number of German words is derived from the time when the smaller community had been laboring to pass into American Judaism by means of the German-Jewish congregations.[1]

Jewish immigration from Russia prior to 1881 had been a trickling stream. After that time it became a flood. It was the struggle of the Yiddish press, to find the most direct and simplest means of reaching the intelligence of these new Jewish immigrants, that has done most to simplify the language of the press and make it popular with the masses of the people.

The Socialists were the first among the Jewish immigrants to conceive the idea of a press that would reach and interest the masses of the people. Among those who sought refuge in America in the early 'eighties were a number of Jewish students who had participated in the revolutionary agitation that preceded the assassination of Czar Alexander II, in March, 1881. It had been the program of the revolutionists to educate the masses of the people, "to go in among the people," as they termed it, and so prepare them for the international revolution which they, after the manner of millenarians everywhere, believed was impending.

The young Jew who mingled with intelligent Russians in the brief "golden period" of the reign of Alexander II acquired the impulsiveness, the shallow intellectuality, and the disregard of practical results which characterize the Russian idealist. He was a revolutionary agitator, and more anxious to spread his views among the common people than the aristocratic *maskil*. The latter, even unto this day, prefers to speak German. . . . But the newly arrived radical, who was

[1] Leo Wiener, "Prose Writers in America," in *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 216–217.

eager to gain adherents to his Socialistic or anarchistic ideas, aimed at popularity, and there soon arose a number of writers and orators who used a Yiddish so plain that even the least intelligent of the immigrants could easily understand. The masses were thus given an opportunity to acquire a taste for reading and for listening to political and economic discussions, which was an important step toward Americanization, though the radicals, as cosmopolitans, hardly strove for such results. An equally meritorious, though likewise unintentional, act was the effort of these radicals to impress upon the minds of their followers the necessity of naturalization. The number of Russians who became citizens under those influences exceeds by thousands, probably even by tens of thousands, the diminishing number of votes which are now cast in the so-called Ghetto districts for the Socialist parties.[1]

Although there was at this time a popular literature in Yiddish among the Jews in Russia, political discussion was in Russian. There were sermons in Yiddish, but no one had ever heard a political speech in the language of the people. The masses of the Jewish immigrants knew nothing of Socialism or the labor movement, just as they knew nothing of modern science or modern political thought. All these high matters were the special concern of a few intellectuals who had been permitted to attend a Russian university.

On July 27, 1882, occurred the first public meeting of the Russian refugees. For the first time they had an opportunity to enjoy freedom of speech, and on this sweltering day five hundred of them jammed to the walls the little Golden Rule Hall on Rivington Street. The speeches were in Russian and German, and many could not understand either of these languages, but they were none the less enthusiastic. Schevitz, editor of the German *Volkszeitung*, Nelke, a German anarchist, and A. Cahan, one of the Russian students, addressed the meeting.

[1] P. Wiernik, "Intellectual Life of the Russian Jew," in *New Era*, February, 1904, pp. 38–39.

It was Cahan at this meeting who first suggested the idea of using the Yiddish jargon to propagate Socialism among the Jews. The suggestion was ridiculed. Who was there that could make speeches in Yiddish? Cahan volunteered to do it; and the following week, in the anarchists' hall on Sixth Street, the first Yiddish speech was delivered. After that many Jewish meetings were held, but for a long time Cahan continued to be the only Yiddish speaker.

The meetings of the "Propaganda Verein" were marked by the greatest enthusiasm. The right of free assemblage was a new experience to most of the Jews; but still more new and strange were the speeches in the mother tongue. The *doctrines of Socialism, which formerly the educated alone could understand, were now to be made comprehensible to the ordinary immigrant.* A cry went up among the students: "In the mother tongue must we agitate among the Jews." And for a few months there was a great activity in the "Propaganda Verein." [1]

It was not, as it turned out, an easy matter to carry on political propaganda in the language of a people who had had no political experience. There were no words in Yiddish in which to express the formulas of Marxian Socialism. The scholastic discussions of the Russian students did not hold the interest of the common people, eager as they were for the knowledge which the new doctrines promised them.

In one respect the Hebrew and the Yiddish writers were struggling with the same difficulty—that of making themselves understood to the largest possible number of readers. . . .

. . . The Hebrew writer came here with a style that may be termed aristocratic, and the Yiddish writer, who had to begin everything anew, had hardly any style. It was all easy as far as the work of the agitator was concerned; denunciations and accusations are always easily understood, and this alone is one of the reasons of their popularity. But when it came to the parts where the writer wanted to describe or to explain,

[1] Wm. M. Leiserson, unpublished thesis on *Jewish Labor Movement in New York*, 1908.

especially in the scientific or semiscientific articles which a public that had no systematic schooling so eagerly devoured, the language of most of the writers was inadequate and not easily understood.[1]

In June, 1886, the Jewish Workmen's Society started the New York (Jewish) *Volkszeitung*. Two young men who had been working in a tailor shop had saved up enough money to start it. They said they "wished to dedicate their capital to the emancipation of the workers." It was intended for workingmen, but, like most other papers printed for the laboring men at that time and later, it was too hard for them to read. The paper lasted three years. In the same year Abraham Cahan and Doctor Rayersky, a fellow enthusiast, started the *Neue Zeit*. It ran through four issues and failed. Of this paper Cahan's fellow intellectuals said: "Your paper contains good material, but the language in which it is written is awful. It is so shamefully simple that a tailor can understand it."

In January, 1890, the United Hebrew Trades founded the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. The proletariat was struggling toward a new paper they could understand.

In the first volumes of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* all the reading matter was made very elementary. As the editor put it, the food was "chewed over, as for a baby," and then given to the undeveloped workman. Gradually his intelligence arose, and his progress could be measured by the character of his paper. Every year the reading matter and the style of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* improved, and every year the Jewish workman was becoming more intelligent. Soon it was found necessary to give him a more substantial literature than a weekly paper could afford, and in 1892 was founded the *Zukunft* (Future), a monthly scientific and literary magazine. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Zukunft* taught the Jew that there was no Jewish question. For the workers of whatever nationality there was

[1] P. Wiernik, *History of the Jews of America*, 1912, p. 303.

only the labor question. They must unite on two fields. On the economic field they must fight with trade-unions to improve their present conditions. On the political field they must unite with the Socialist Labor party to overthrow the existing system of society and inaugurate a co-operative commonwealth.[1]

In the same year in which the *Arbeiter Zeitung* was established by the Socialists, the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Voice of the Free Workman) was started by the Jewish anarchists. This paper, which was discontinued for a time, was and is the peculiar organ of the Yiddish intellectual. To be able to say "I have written for Yanovsky" is a literary passport for a Yiddish writer, for of the thousands of manuscripts which the editor receives every year, some of which he criticizes pithily in his "Letter Box," he accepts only those which are not only excellent in themselves but which are a promise of more, of equal, or greater excellence.

It was not until 1894 that the first Socialist daily, *Das Abendblatt*, was published. This was, in fact, merely the *Arbeiter Zeitung* in another form. It was not until the appearance of the *Forward*, however, and not until Abraham Cahan returned from his five years' apprenticeship upon an American daily paper, that the Jewish Socialists succeeded in creating a newspaper that the masses of the Jewish people, and even women, could read. The *Forward*, under Abraham Cahan, may be said to be modeled on the "yellow journal" of the period. It was, however, less a copy than an application of methods. The *Forward* is not only unquestionably American, but also unquestionably unique. Its immediate and remarkable popularity was an indication that the Jewish daily press had finally arrived.

[1] Wm. M. Leiserson, unpublished thesis on *Jewish Labor Movement in New York*, 1908.

Forward was born at a Socialist ball fifteen years ago, when Cahan and others passed the hat around to start a Yiddish Socialist daily, and collected eight hundred dollars. A co-operative publishing company, The Forward Association, was formed almost on the spot. This association pledged itself to publish the paper and to devote whatever profit accrued to the furthering of Socialism and of *Forward*. To-day, *Forward* and its building bring many thousands of dollars a year profit, not a cent of which goes as dividends to anyone or for any other than these purposes. But as late as ten years ago the *Forward* was not only deep in debt, but also dying.

Its board of managers, in despair, appealed to Cahan to come and take hold. At that time Cahan was making a name for himself as special writer on the *Sun*, the *Evening Post*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, and other papers. His stories of Jewish life were appearing in the first-class magazines. His novel of East Side life, *Yekl*, had been acclaimed by William Dean Howells and other critics on both sides of the Atlantic as a masterly bit of realism. His *White Terror and Red*, and *Imported Bridegroom*, and *Other Stories*, were bringing him a widening English-reading public. But at the call from his comrades he went back to the East Side and threw himself into the task of reviving the dying Yiddish daily.

He found the circulation barely six thousand, the columns full of abstract economic controversy, the tone bitter, and an exaggerated air of the "highbrow" even for the East Side, where Tolstoi, Spencer, Darwin, and similar literature can be bought on pushcarts. Worst of all, it was written in a highly intellectualized, Germanized Yiddish, which only the *intelligentsia* can understand fully.

Cahan at once changed its language to the colloquial, Americanized Yiddish spoken in the street, the shops, the factories, and the homes of the people it desired to reach. "And if you want the public to read this paper and to assimilate Socialism," he told his staff, "you've got to write of things of everyday life, in terms of what they see and feel and find all about them."

So he banished the long abstract essays on economic determinism and the class struggle, and presented these things

in the form of short actual stories and news from the shop, the street, the market, and the home. The East Side began to read about itself in the news columns of *Forward*. It found its homely, everyday problems discussed trenchantly, yet sympathetically, on the editorial page by Cahan, and read advice to the lovelorn in a department conducted by Rose Pastor, who afterward added Stokes to her name.

Within eight weeks after Cahan had taken hold of *Forward* its circulation trebled. Within two or three years it began to pay a profit; and now (1912) it has a daily circulation of over 130,000.[1]

Cahan got his conception of journalism from his experience as a reporter for the American press.

When I came back to the Yiddish press in 1897 to become editor of the *Vorwärts*, after having worked on the *Globe* for five years, I had learned a lot about journalism. It was through my experience on the *Globe* that I really learned to know life. Lincoln Steffens, who was city editor, asked me what I wanted to do. I said that I wanted to learn everything about American journalism from top to bottom, and that I wanted to know life. So he sent me to the police court, where I saw, not the smug, complacent side of life, but murders, robberies, and scandals. I interviewed Bowery thugs and United States presidents. I came to know all sides of American life. When I came back to the Yiddish press I was able to look at it from a distance.[2]

Although Yiddish is a folk language and has only recently become the vehicle of a considerable literature, it has already brought into existence a school of writers who have sought to maintain its purity and so create a distinction between the written and the spoken language.

Cahan has been, from the outset of his career as a writer, the most conspicuous opponent of this move-

[1] New York *Evening Post*, July 27, 1912.

[2] Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily *Forward* (interview).

ment. He has introduced phonetic spelling and has been willing to use any form of the jargon in which he could make himself most easily and effectively understood. There are in Yiddish, as spoken in America, a great many bastard expressions—English words with German endings. He has accepted them all. When a German word is pronounced one way in Yiddish and spelled in another way in German, he has spelled it as it was spoken. This is shocking to the Jewish intellectual, who, knowing German, naturally wants to preserve the original and etymological form of the word. However, this practice has increased newspaper circulation and made the acquisition of a written speech simpler for the common man. It is a principal reason for the unexampled success of the Yiddish papers in the United States, and for the high level of intelligence among the masses of the Yiddish-speaking people in New York.

When Cahan took charge of the *Forward* he immediately simplified its language.

The first thing that I realized was that the *Vorwärts* could not reach the masses because it was using a language they did not understand, a kind of highbrow Yiddish with a lot of Hebrew and German and Russian terms that only the educated man could understand. Yiddish is a language of market women—the imported words are just like Latin and Greek. Of course, it is difficult to express Marxian doctrines in simple terms, but what was the use of saying "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie," when you could simply say the "worker" or "the wealthy classes"?

The first thing that I insisted on was that everything in the paper should be written in what I called Yiddish-Yiddish. That meant, not only cutting out the unfamiliar German, Russian, and Hebrew words, but using all the American words that every Jew in London or New York knows. I can never understand why Yiddish writers refuse to use the American

words, as some of them do. S. Nigger, *e.g.*, who has just come over from Warsaw, has already learned the American-Yiddish words—every Jew learns them in the first month that he is over here—but he is a purist and will not use them. Such men are perfectly willing to use the Polish words that were adopted into the Yiddish two or three centuries ago, and I do not see how they can consistently refuse to use American words; the process of adoption has been the same.

With the Zionist movement there has been an increasing tendency to use Hebrew words. There is a great deal of Hebrew used in the *Tag* (a Yiddish daily), and men, when they write serious articles, very readily fall back on Hebrew words. I have just been in Europe for ten months and while I was away my staff had a great time. They used all the Hebrew words they wanted to. For instance, I found when I came back they were all using the word "Mafeetz." Will you believe it, I didn't even know what "Mafeetz" meant? They told me that it was the same thing as "Zustand." Now every Jew understands what "Zustand" is, so I told them to use it even if it was a German word. The pure Yiddish is German.

I am not a nationalist. I don't care about Hebrew words; I don't even care about Yiddish words. I would just as soon use English if everyone could understand. In this respect I am different from most of the men in my office. My assistant, for instance, is a wonderful man and a great Talmud scholar. I think he would have made a great metaphysician. Of course, these Talmud scholars on our staff are fond of using Hebrew words, and so are some of the people who read the *Vorwärts*.[1]

Changes in the written language which bring it closer to the common speech are just as significant as those which simplify speech itself. When literature is written in the vernacular it becomes a possession of the common man. This is what gives significance to the Yiddish press in America. It has been the vehicle for the

[1] Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily *Forward* (interview).

enlightenment of men and women who, until it arrived, had no outlook upon the world.

EDUCATION OF THE READING PUBLIC

It is not possible to estimate the changes which the appearance of a genuinely popular press has had upon the life of the Jewish immigrant. As long as Hebrew was the only language of instruction, the masses of the Jewish people remained imprisoned within the walls of the Talmud, knowing nothing of modern science or modern thought. There are still learned rabbis on the East Side in New York, men who have devoted the best years of their life to sharpening their wits on Talmudic casuistry, who believe that the earth moves around the moon. An anecdote is related of a learned doctor who refused to witness the flight of an airplane because it was written in the Talmud that man's sphere was the earth, the heavens being the abode of celestial beings. Cahan said of one of his co-workers:

> When he started to work with me he didn't know what the equator was. Now if you take a German or Irish teamster—not a very intelligent man, surely—and you speak of the equator, or the North Pole, or of flying across the Atlantic and stopping at certain islands, he understands you. He has been in a schoolroom and has seen maps. But a Jewish intellectual does not know what the equator is. These intellectuals can discuss the most abstruse problems in philosophy, but they know nothing about geography; that is Gentile learning.[1]

Jewish scholars had been sitting for centuries in the synagogues, by the light of sacred candles, poring over the past, brooding over the inner life of the race. Upon

[1] Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily *Forward* (interview).

this spectacle the common man looked with awe and reverence.

The popular press turned the eyes of the Jew outward upon the world. The press was a window on life. The new press was, to be sure, Socialistic, but more interesting to the masses of the people than its political philosophy was the information it gave them about life, about the physical universe, and the world of human nature about them. There had arisen at this time a school of writers who devoted themselves to the exposition of science in the language of the people. There were a number of these popular scientific writers. Abraham Cahan was one. J. Rombro, who wrote under the name of "Philip Kranz," was another. Rombro, like Cahan, was a Russian fugitive. In London he met Morris Winchefsky, the Yiddish poet and writer. Winchefsky, who was at that time editing the *Polish Jew*, the first Yiddish Socialist paper to be published in England, asked him to write a description of the riots against the Jews in Russia. "It was a hard job for me," he wrote to Leo Wiener, "and it took me a long time to do it. I never thought of writing in the Jewish jargon, but fate ordered otherwise, and, contrary to all my aspirations, I am now nothing more than a poor jargon journalist." To which the author of the *History of Yiddish Literature* adds this comment:

> The author's evil plight has, however, been the people's gain, for to his untiring activity is due no small amount of the enlightenment that they have received in the last ten years. [1]

Another successful popularizer of science has been Abner Tannenbaum, who translated the works of Jules Verne. Later he wrote stories of his own, which have the merit of being based on scientific fact. The popu-

[1] Leo Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature*, 1899, pp. 223–224.

lar novel became, for the Yiddish press, what it has since become for the *Saturday Evening Post*, a medium of instruction.[1]

The most picturesque figure among the popular writers in Yiddish is Shaikevitch, the man who popularized the *heften*. The *heften* were unsigned novels published in book form, that had an immense vogue until the daily papers began publishing them serially. The competition of daily papers, which sometimes published as many as five or six stories at a time, destroyed the vogue of the *heften*.

Shaikevitch is the author of interminable unsigned novels, which are published in daily installments in the East Side newspapers. He is so prolific that he makes a good living. . . .

He was born in Minsk, Russia, of orthodox Jewish parents. He began to write when he was twenty years old—at first in pure Hebrew, scientific and historical articles. He also wrote a Hebrew novel called *The Victim of the Inquisition*, to which the Russian censor objected on the ground that it dealt with religious subjects.

Compelled to make his own living, young Shaikevitch, whose *nom de plume* has always been "Shomer," began to write popular novels in the common jargon, in Yiddish. At that time the Jews in Russia were, even more than now, shut up in their own communities, knew nothing of European culture, had an education, if any, exclusively Hebraic and mediæval, and were outlandish to an extreme. The educated read only Hebrew, and the uneducated did not read at all. Up to that time, or until shortly before it, the Jew thought that nothing but holy teaching could be printed in Hebrew type. A man named Dick, however, a kind of forerunner of Shaikevitch, had begun to write secular stories in Yiddish. They were popular in form, intended for the ignorant populace who never read at all. Shaikevitch followed in Dick's lines, and made a great success.

He has written over one hundred and sixty stories, and for

[1] Leo Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature*, 1899, pp. 222–223.

many years he was the great popular Yiddish writer in Russia. The people would read nothing but "Shomer's" works. . . .

When Shaikevitch, or "Shomer," himself describes the purpose and characters of his work, he talks as follows:

"My works are partly pictures of the life of the Jews in the Russian villages of fifty years ago, and partly novels about the old history of the Jews. Fifty years ago the Jews were more fanatical than they are now. They did nothing but study the Talmud, pray and fast, wear long beards and wigs, and look like monkeys. I satirized all this in my novels. I tried to teach the ignorant Jews that they were ridiculous, that they ought to take hold of modern, practical life and give up all that was merely formal and absurd in the old customs. I taught them that a pious man might be a hypocrite, and that it is better to do good than to pray. My works had a great effect in modernizing and educating the ignorant Jews. In my stories I pictured how the Jewish boy might go out from his little village into the wide, Gentile world and make something of himself. In the last twenty-five years the Jews, owing to my books, have lost a great deal of their fanaticism. At that time they had nothing but my books to read, and so my satire had a great effect." [1]

INTELLECTUAL FERMENT

Through the medium of the popular press the learning which had been the privilege of the few became the common possession of the many. The intellectual ferment which this first contact with modern science produced spread far and wide, and, undermined by the new ideas and the unrest thus created, the whole structure of Jewish life crumbled. The younger generation, particularly the more ardent and intellectual among them, went over to Socialism *en masse*. Socialism gave the common man a point of view, at any rate, from

[1] Hutchins Hapgood, "Odd Characters," in *The Spirit of the Ghetto*, chap. x, pp. 274–275.

which he could think about actual life. It made the sweatshop an intellectual problem.

Under the same influences Socialism itself changed. It ceased to be a mere political doctrine and became a criticism of life. The Socialist press ceased to be only the organ of the doctrinaires, and became an instrument of general culture. All the intimate, human, and practical problems of life found a place in its columns. It founded a new literature and a new culture, based on the life of the common man.

. . . It was America—*i.e.*, the American-Yiddish press—that led some of the greatest Yiddish writers forth into the world. Some twenty-five years ago, there being no Yiddish press in Russia, and hardly any publishers of sterling Yiddish literature, Peretz was still brooding in obscurity. But then he began to write for the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and the *Zukunft*, published by the New York Socialists. It was here that many of his best sketches and symbolistic tales first saw the light. We may say, without vanity, that we Americans discovered Peretz for Russia. Equally is the case with David Pinski, and to some extent also with Ash, Raisin, and Hirshbein.

Of much greater importance in this connection, however, is our own very numerous family of poets, novelists, dramatists, and publicists. Suffice it merely to say that in the course of these thirty years there loomed up here not less than a couple of hundred Yiddish men of letters. . . .

It should always be borne in mind that Yiddish literature in America is purely proletarian. It was never stimulated by wealthy patronage: it never had an academy to guide it, and never had a literary salon to advise it. Moreover, it was born and bred in the daily and weekly press, with the cheap dime novel for its cribfellow, and the loudly palpitating daily article for its godfather.

It is true that while rocking in its leaden cradle it often also had Turgenev, Tolstoi, Zola, Dostoyevski, Chekhov, and Andreiev for its fellows. Yet, while it cannot be denied that American-Yiddish literature was visibly influenced by con-

temporary European literature, it is also true that it was Yiddish literature that paved the way for the best in the world's literature to the receptive mind of the Yiddish reader. The Jewish sweatshop worker would have no appreciation of Maupassant or Gorki if he had not previously been trained by Libin, Korbin, Gordin, Pinski, or Raisin. . . .[1]

In its effort to interest the common man in a political doctrine the Yiddish Socialist press has discovered for him an interest in life. It has done so frequently against its will, at least against the will of its editors. Often its political theories never succeeded in reaching its public at all.

There is evidence that the editorials, for which, in the main, the propagandist papers are published, are not read. It is news, births, and deaths, the advertising—particularly the patent medicine and the labor want-ads.—that receive most attention. These are read, like the mail-order catalogues in New Mexico, not merely because of their human interest and the outlook they give upon life, but because they are easy reading and there is nothing else more interesting and intelligible at hand. The immigrants subscribe for these papers simply because they want to read anything—words, advertisements—because they want to learn to read.

Back of all the unrest and the ferment in the masses of the immigrant peoples in this country is an intellectual movement. In Europe this movement has gotten no farther than the *intelligentsia*. Through the foreign-language press in this country it is reaching the common people.

[1] Joel Enteen, in the *Jewish Communal Register*, 1917–18, pp. 592, 594–595.

Part II

CONTENTS OF THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

V

ADVERTISING

THE ordinary immigrant newspaper is like a general store in a rural community. It offers to its public a multitude of things; but nothing distinctive, exotic, or stimulating except, perhaps, its radicalism—political or religious. The immigrant reads few journals and fewer books. Except for his paper, he remains as provincial in the new country as he was in the old. Almost all that he knows about the larger political, social, and industrial life about him, he gets indirectly, through the medium of his press.

Through the medium of this same press the inhabitant of the big outside world may get an intimate glimpse into the smaller world of the immigrant. Reading some of these foreign papers is like looking through a keyhole into a lighted room.

In many cases the advertisements reveal the organization of the immigrant community more fully than does the rest of the paper. For example, the reading matter of the *Naujienos*, a Lithuanian Socialist daily of Chicago, consists only of such literature as Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and propaganda articles. On the other hand, the business addresses of the banks, real-estate agencies, bookstores, and so forth, show that there are at least three Lithuanian colonies in Chicago, the main colony being the one that centers around Halsted Street and Blue Island Avenue, and that Lithuanian plays are given in each of these colonies.

The advertisements also reveal to what extent an immigrant group has adapted itself to American ways. Immigrant businesses flourish when immigration is recent or when there is segregation; societies and cultural organizations are built up more slowly and are more lasting.

The Syrian papers of New York, with their advertisements of lodging houses, groceries, restaurants, and clothing merchants, show that there are a large number of recent arrivals from Syria, all of whose life is spent among their countrymen on Washington Street. The Italian papers, too, contain many advertisements of groceries and importers of oil, of doctors, lawyers, real estate, and employment agencies. In the Italian section west of the New York Bowery there are Italian women who do all their buying from the Italian stores, and who never go outside the neighborhood except to visit other Italian settlements uptown or in Brooklyn.

On the other hand, the *Abendpost*, the big daily of the German colony long established in Chicago, has almost no advertisements of German business. The readers of the *Abendpost* patronize American merchants, and a single copy of the paper contains the advertisements of eight downtown department stores. The *Abendpost* does contain, however, the advertisements of German professionals, doctors and lawyers, and of German organizations. During the winter there are always announcements of German plays.

IMMIGRANT BUSINESS

Certain kinds of advertisements, such as steamship advertisements and colonization society advertisements, are especially characteristic of the foreign-language papers. The business of the steamship agent, who is almost always a money changer and a banker, is

described in a later chapter. The agency of George Cumpanas, the proprietor of the *Desteaptate Romane* of New York City, did a good business in the summer of 1919 when there were between six and seven thousand Rumanians from Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, and elsewhere, herded together in New York, waiting for passports.

If you wish to return to the Fatherland for little money and be well taken care of

Address

G. CUMPANAS

THE FIRST RUMANIAN AGENT OF STEAMSHIP TICKETS AND PASSPORTS

$130.00	If you will send me $10.00, I will reserve a berth for you.	Write me immediately for information.	$95.00

RUMANIAN BROTHERS!

If you are coming to New York, come to my Rumanian Steamship Agency and get your ticket. I will not charge you extra. It will be well, if you wish to go, to come soon.

You will not be able to get steamship tickets any more cheaply if you go to the captain of the boat.

If you wish to bring your family over from home, no one will do it so well, so honestly, and so quickly as my agency.

If you get your tickets from me—you will not have to engage a porter or a taxi—I will attend to all these things.

Here is a list of ships which will sail soon:

7 Aug.	*Patria*, via Neapol la Constanta.....	$130
12 Aug.	*Duca d'Abruzzi*, la Triest $98. La Constanta.....	148
16 July	*Regina d'Italia*, Neapol si Genea..... 72	140
17 Aug.	*Canada*, via Pireaus la Constanta.....	130

27 July *President Wilson,* Triest..... 125
28 July *Pesaro,* via Neapol la Constanta..... 140
31 Aug. *Roma,* via Mareseille la Triest..... 86

The first payment of $10.00 reserves for you a place in the steamer that you write me you wish to take. So decide soon.

G. CUMPANAS
Steamship agent and agent for passports.
146 SEVENTH AVENUE
(Between 18th and 19th Streets) [1]

The real-estate agent in the foreign-language group makes a specialty of advertising farms and farm land. The majority of immigrants to the United States have been peasants, and they are land hungry. Farm land is not so plentiful as it was in the days when the German and Scandinavian pioneers bought Wisconsin land for a dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. There are advertisements of colonization societies in the press of almost every group, which offer the immigrant a farm among people of his own speech.

FARMS FOR SALE

In the vicinity of Scottsville, Michigan, there is located the greatest Lithuanian farming colony in America, which we have settled with four hundred and thirty-eight Lithuanian farmers. They have at present three farmers' associations, two free and one Catholic, a priest, and a Lithuanian cemetery.

In this beautiful locality we have settled the good farms of the Englishmen with Lithuanian farmers.

We have for sale good, cheap farms; both small and large, with buildings, orchards, fields already planted: we even have some with cattle and farm machinery. We sell on easiest terms.

[1] *Libertatea si Desteaptate Romane* (Rumanian), New York City.

Pay no attention to those who attempt to persuade you that this is not true; they are doing this out of jealousy. Do not buy a farm in another place, for you will be sorry that you did not buy from us.

Come at once to us. We will see that you are settled among Lithuanian farmers, where you will have a fine living on splendid farms, where the fields are level, where there are many beautiful creeks and lakes full of fish, where the soil is mixed with clay and is fertile for all kinds of crops, orchards, grass lands, and pastures.

We have much uncultivated land which is sold cheap; at from eight to eighteen dollars per acre.

We pay the railroad expenses of those who buy from us, and anyone sending us a customer receives a present of twenty-five dollars.

For further information send six cents in stamps and we will send you a Farm Catalogue and a map of the colony.[1]

Address A. Kiedis, Peoples State Bank Building,
Scottsville, Michigan [2]

The customs of the immigrants regarding food, clothing, holidays, and social life survive to some extent in every language group, although they break down very rapidly. Such as appear in the advertise-

[1] Note of the translator: This is the oldest Lithuanian farming colony which has been systematically colonized by advertising. I visited this colony in 1913 and at that time there were already about three hundred Lithuanian farmers who had bought the land, but only about thirty or forty lived there, for the land was in such condition that it required much money to put it under cultivation. In some places, in my opinion, it will never be cultivated, and those who have bought it are only too glad to sell it again, as it consists mostly of swamps and sandy soil. A good deal of cheating is done in selling, and this was one of the causes, and I believe still is, why the Lithuanians stay in the city rather than go and buy swampy land or land otherwise unfit for cultivation, and this though they were farmers at home and would prefer to live on farms here. (See *A Stake in the Land*, Peter A. Speek.)

[2] *Kardas, Lithuanian*, Chicago (humorous).

ments of the foreign-language press are, for the most part, connected with food and ritual.

RABBI LEON YAFFE

Expert circumcizer and performer of marriage ceremonies. Preacher of righteousness of the Synagogue, "The Gathering of Israel." Accepts "ceremonies of circumcision" in city and country at reasonable prices.

1320 N. Artesian Ave.
Near Potomac Ave.
Tel. Humbolt 4591 [1]

Established in Athens in 1899 Tel. Gramercy 6190
In New York in 1914

THE ONLY GREEK FACTORY IN AMERICA
for
Wedding Crowns and Baptismal Decorations

DORROS BROTHERS

All kinds of wedding and baptismal articles are made in our factory
Retail and Wholesale

40–42 East 19th Street,
Near Broadway, New York [2]

ONLY SLOVENIAN STORE

Standards, medals, insignia, caps, seals, and everything that is necessary for societies and lodges
First class work. Low prices.
Slovenian catalogues will be sent.
F. Kerze, 2711 So. Millard Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.[3]

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[1] *Jewish Courier* (Yiddish), Chicago.
[2] *Liberal* (Greek), New York City.
[3] *Glasilo K. S. K. Jednote* (Slovenian), Chicago (organ of fraternal societies).

ADVERTISING

Newly papered! Separate booths!

For Women, Men, and Families

at the

BATH HOUSE

of

CHARLES KANGAS

Open every week day from
12 o'clock noon
to
12 o'clock night [1]

Kwong, Yick, and Company

941 Grant Ave., San Francisco, California.
P. O. Box 2477.

Oil, Rice, Tea, Sugar

MOON CAKE [2]

All Kinds of Groceries [3]

Immigrant foods and foreign-language restaurants survive longest. The foreign-language restaurant provides much more than food; it provides atmosphere, newspapers, and talk. The Greek coffeehouses below Chatham Square and the Polish restaurants around Tompkins Square, in New York, keep for their customers copies of all the important Greek and Polish papers in the United States.

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[1] *Tyomies* (Finnish), Superior, Wisconsin.

[2] The Moon cake is eaten at the harvest festival in China on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. It has the shape of the harvest moon.

[3] *Chung Sai Yat Po* (Chinese), San Francisco, California.

GREAT REDUCTION

We have just received Spanish
oil in barrels and in bulk.
See us about the price

CHEESE

Romanello	44c.
Romano	49c.
Sorrento	60c.
Provoloni	75c.
Caciocavallo	65c.

Write or send the order to

COURUMALIS & CO.

177 Hester St. New York
opposite
121 Mott Street, New York [1]

GREEK SYRIAN MARKET

A Great Importing House
of
Greek and Oriental Products

All Kinds of Groceries, Coffees,
Great Stock of all Kinds of Goods!
Ask for our new illustrated catalogue
All Kinds of Pastries! [2]

WINE CELLAR AT THE "BINGER HOLE"
of
ADOLPH GEORG
Importer, Wholesale and Retail Dealer
155 West Randolph St., Chicago, Illinois

[1] *Progresso Italo-Americano* (Italian), New York.
[2] *Greek National Herald* (Greek), New York.

"When the roof is on fire
The Spirits awake
When Thoughts are lofty
The legs do shake!"

Literary composition of Robert Reitzel [1]
written for the walls of
The Winecellar of Adolph Georg at its
opening, May 1896.[2]

PROFESSIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS

The advertisements of the priest, the doctor, and the lawyer appear as soon as the immigrant community attains any size. The papers of the Germans and Scandinavians and the agricultural sections of other groups are full of such advertisements. The advertisements of immigrant doctors and patent medicines sometimes occupy a third or a half of the space of a foreign-language paper.

The idea that sickness can be magically healed by the use of X rays, electric belts, and electric batteries seems to be as popular as is the literature of hypnotism, occultism, and palmistry. Pictures of electric belts and X-ray examinations appear in almost every daily paper. Trusses for hernia, which often results from the strain sustained in heavy work, are also widely advertised.

The advertisements for the cure of venereal diseases are usually veiled, and the prospective patient is told that he will be treated courteously and that it will be made easy for him to talk. These advertisements are not always indirect, however. Twenty per cent of the medical advertisements in the largest Chinese daily, the

[1] Robert Reitzel was an idealist and a literary man. He wrote and edited an anarchist paper in Detroit known as *Der Arme Teufel* (*The Poor Devil*).

[2] *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* (German), Minneapolis.

Chung Sai Yat Po, of San Francisco, are prefaced by the "flower-willow" symbol, which stands for a venereal disease.

Long years of practice in treatment of nerves, and chronic and complicated diseases, give me special skill in electrical treatment which can help cases where other methods have failed.

I have some of the newest electric apparatus to treat chronic cases. If you are sick, you should devote a little attention to it and talk with me. I treat you as a guest whom it is a pleasure to see. My fee for the treatment is easily met, and is not beyond what such help and goodness as you will get from me would demand.

Remember, consultation and examination are free. Putting off and neglecting treatment is very dangerous. Come in if you need the help of experience and of all kinds of apparatus and of specialists.

Dr. H. B. VAIL, Specialist, Room 7, 2d Floor

622 Summit Ulica Messinger Blk.
Near Cherry and St. Clair, Toledo, Ohio

Office Hours—10 A.M. to 4 P.M.
Sunday—10 A.M. to 2 P.M.

We speak Polish. No interpreter needed.[1]

SAN FRANCISCO, March 7, 1913.

To the Public: I announce that I have been cured through the drugs of Dr. Woo. I had syphilis in my nose, ears, and throat for four years, and my condition was hopeless. Within a month I was cured by the above mentioned doctor, while twelve other doctors to whom I had gone entirely failed.

NICK GUNO
710 Harrison St.[2]

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[1] *Ameryka-Echo* (Polish), Toledo, September 14, 1918.
[2] *Prometheus* (Greek), San Francisco, California, March 7, 1913.

The immigrant lawyer is usually of the second generation, since the man who was born in another country rarely uses English well enough to plead cases. Occasionally, in the legal, as in other professions, the Jew becomes the intellectual of another group.

FANNIE HOROVITZ

Italian Lawyer

Civil and criminal cases

299 Broadway, New York Tel. Worth 5508 [1]

BOOKS

Many of the immigrants learn to read their mother tongue in this country, and many others acquire the habit of reading over here. Almost every Polish daily in Chicago runs a book-publishing concern. Advertisements of their own and other bookstores appear in the foreign-language papers.

The literature of the masses falls into two classes: the literature of love and the literature of radicalism.

Among the Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanians, Italians, and some others, the literature of love and magic is as prevalent as among the hoboes of the Bowery, New York, or West Madison Street, Chicago.

35c. Library

Perpetual Adoration	Terramond
The Virgin and the Sinner	E. Zola de Mendes
The Son and the Lover	T. Cahu
The Rose of Grenada	Romeau [2]

[1] *Progresso Italo-Americano* (Italian), New York City.

[2] *Alvorado* (Portuguese), New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Nicoletti's Music Store
Mulberry Street, New York City.

Love Letters
Palmistry
The First Night of Matrimony
Prohibited book
Meditations on the sexual problem
Telepathy and dreams [1]

MEXICAN CARDS

Do not send money but only your address, and by return mail we will send you a valuable card for fiancés and of congratulation, of the latest and most novel style, 7 x 4 inches, with landscapes embossed and printed in Spanish, ornamented with colored silk ribbons and placed in its own box; one dozen postal cards—portraits of famous actresses and three colored bromide photographs of winsome lady bathers.

We are going to enclose besides a pamphlet giving the languages of the fan and handkerchief, advices to those in love, declarations of love, etc., etc., and a general list of prizes.

On receipt of the above you will pay only 97 cts.

Send your order now to the following address: [2]

JUST OUT

The first book in the Lithuanian language concerning the sex question.

Written by the best known scientist on the sexual question in America—Dr. Wm. J. Robinson

In this book is found a truthful, clear, and comprehensive description of all the most important phenomena of sexual life.

This book clearly and truthfully explains how to avoid venereal diseases; what is necessary in order to be successful in family life; how to raise healthy and happy children; and gives many other important and necessary facts.

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[1] *Progresso Italo-Americano* (Italian), New York.
[2] *Prensa* (Spanish), San Antonio, Texas.

ADVERTISING

THIS BOOK IS MOST ESSENTIAL TO EVERY GROWN-UP PERSON

It has many illustrations which make it easier to understand the described matters.

Price $2.00

Send money by money order or in paper money to

MAIL ORDER AGENCY

Box 129, General P. O. New York, N. Y.[1]

MARRIAGE WANTED

WANTED—A lovely rabbi's or scholar's daughter. She must be tall and young, sympathetic, religious, idealistic, and interested in Zionism and Jewish interests. She must be cultured and well-read—a girl whom one could love for her qualities alone. Money is not required and a Lithuanian girl is preferred.

The young man, though still in his twenties, is a great scholar and takes part in the discussion circles of orthodox rabbis. He is clever, cultured, has a modern education, and is a social worker and a Zionist. He has a very beautiful, charming, and sympathetic exterior, is not poor, and is rabbi of a pretty synagogue.[2]

The radical papers have no romantic fiction; their interest is in ideas. They advertise books on science, which go back to Darwin and Spencer, propaganda, and literature that has a radical tinge. There are twice as many columns of book advertisements in the radical press as in the rest of the foreign-language press.

BOOKS

History of the Alphabet, A. B. Schnitzer, compiled by Sernas.
How to Write Letters in Lithuanian and English, J. Laukis.
Period of Reign of Slachta (nobility in Lithuania and the Lithuanian Statute), Dr. Jonas Sliupas.

[1] *Laisve* (Lithuanian), Brooklyn, New York.
[2] *Jewish Morning-Journal* (Yiddish), New York City.

The Earth and Other Worlds, according to Heilperna, Falba, and others, compiled by Sernas.

Ancient Animals Which Have Disappeared from the Earth, according to Hutchinson, compiled by Sernas.

Atmospheric Phenomena or Meteorology, according to Professor Vajeikov, compiled by Sernas.

Ethnology, or the Story of Earth's Peoples, according to Dr. H. Haveriand, compiled by Sernas.

Evolution of Freedom. From barbarism to civilization. Book for speakers and seekers of education. . . .

The Bible of Priest Bimba (collection of antireligious humoristic writings, translated), "Priest" Bimba's sermons, songs, and illustrations.

Inquisition. How with the help of torture and bonfires "holy relief" was propagated.

History of Religion. Here are collected all the humbugs which have been donated by those who are supposed to know heaven. This is the most important book in the Lithuanian language. Three times larger than the Bible. Well bound. $5.00.

Rome. Romance by Emile Zola. Translated from the French.

The Jungle, by Upton Sinclair.

The Sunken Bell. Drama in 5 acts. Gerhardt Hauptmann. Translated by A. Lalis.

Soberness of Socialistic Thought.

Work, second part of *Four Epistles*, by Emile Zola.

The School of Life, by Orison Swett Marden. Translated by K. Zegota.

Marriage brokers still advertise in the Yiddish papers. The Lithuanian *Kelevis* of Boston, a very successful and sensational Socialist daily, and some of the Spanish papers have "Marriage Wanted" columns which contribute much to their popularity.

MARRIAGE WANTED!

WANTED—Girl or childless widow, 19–27 years old, freethinker, agreeing to a civil marriage, knowing how to read and write in Lithuanian, wanted by a man 29 years old,

photographer, using no intoxicants or tobacco. Particulars in letter.[1]

IMMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS

The organization advertisements that appear in any single copy of a foreign-language paper rarely give a complete picture of the organization of a local community, or the organization of the whole immigrant group; but they do indicate what the picture probably is.

The immigrant benefit society is always the first organization, and is usually founded by people from the same village.[2]

Every Chinese is supposed to belong to a *tong*. A *tong* is an informal secret society, and the relation of the member to the organization is of an intimate character. When a man withdraws from his *tong* and no longer wishes to be responsible for its actions, he makes public announcements of this in the press, so that not only the *tong* but the whole Chinese community will understand what his status is.

Such organizations as the Bohemian freethinker societies, Socialist federations, nationalistic societies, anarchist circles, and German Turnvereins represent groups of people who have common emotional ties and a similar philosophy of life.

The Ukrainian colonies in the United States experienced a real renaissance during the war. They formed societies and sent out for lecturers to address them, but there were not enough lecturers to supply the demand. The new interest in Ukrainia extended to lectures on astronomy. With the older immigrant groups these

[1] *Kelevis* (Lithuanian), Boston, Massachusetts.

[2] R. E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, chap. vi.

periods of intellectual unrest have already been passed. The interest in free thought among the Bohemians is no longer felt by their children. The German Turnvereins still breathe with the radicalism of '48, but they no longer have the personalities of '48.

The longer a group is settled, the more variety and complexity of organization is attained. The *German-American Address Book* for the year 1916–17 lists 6,586 societies in the United States which include nationalist societies, singing societies, German trades unions, social clubs, veteran societies, provincial societies, athletic and gymnastic societies, and benefit societies. The Germans probably have more societies than other immigrant groups, except the Jews. Most of these are really social organizations. Skat tournaments and other games are the sport of the older settlers, but on the second floor of Strunsky's, and at the Neighborhood Café, the Jews play chess.

FOR SKATPLAYERS!

Tonight there will be a Skat-tournament in the Pabst theater. Admission cards for the national tournament will be issued.[1]

DONT FORGET Saturday evening, January 5th, 1918, is the INTERNATIONAL PRISONERS' MASQUE BALL, given by the Anarchist Red Cross . . . Help free the political prisoners of America and Europe.

HARLEM RIVER CASINO, 127th Street and 2d Ave.

Tickets at

Freie Arbeiter Stimme	157 East B'way.
Meisel's Bookstore	424 Grand Street
Vegetarian Rest	55 Second Street, 26 Delancey
Stern's Bookstore	182 Havemeyer St., Brooklyn [2]

[1] *Germania* (German), Milwaukee.
[2] *Forward* (Yiddish), New York City.

Mr. Chen: I am a gardener and formerly of *Ho Shin Tong.* Now because I am too much occupied and unable to look after other things, therefore I hand in all the fees and withdraw from the *tong.* Hereafter anything that is connected with the *tong* has nothing to do with me.[1]

Festival!

Fifth big picnic of *Della Loggia Notar Benanti di Bolognetta.* Patrons: the physicians; Manfredi Benanti, Rosario Siracusa, Arrigo Ciro.

June 22, 1919, 2 PM.
Corner Tompkins and Chestnut Ave.[2]

Dramatic organizations are frequent in immigrant groups. There are many amateur performances advertised for the benefit of churches, lodges, and schools. Some of the Socialist Finns, Jews, and Lithuanians have good amateur companies which give several performances a year.

Most of the immigrant groups have vaudeville performances of their own in the big cities. They get a great deal of fun out of the puns of the comedians and the half-foreign, half-American patter which is just like the conversations of the street.

The Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, French, Germans, Italians, and Japanese all have one or more professional companies in the United States, most of which are located in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. With the exception of the Jews, these companies all give plays imported from the old country. The Jews have a group of contemporaneous playwrights whose plays deal with American life. For example, Ossip Dimoff, who has only recently come from Russia, had a play at the Madison Square Garden Theater in the

[1] *Chinese World* (Chinese), San Francisco, California.
[2] *Bolletino della Sera* (Italian), New York City.

winter of 1920, called "The Bronx Express," which is a very clever satire on Americanization.

The Jews have five theaters on the lower East Side of New York. The two Yiddish theaters on Second Avenue, near Houston Street, are identified with two famous theatrical families, the Adlers and the Tomaschefskys. Many of the Broadway "hits" have borrowed their plots and their music from these two theaters. The Irving Place Theater, which was German before the war, and the Madison Square Garden Theater are giving plays by such contemporaneous authors as Ossip Dimoff, Leon Korbin, Peretz, Hirschbein, and Scholem Asch, all of whom are young men. The character acting of these two companies, and of some of Adler's company, is not rivaled on the American stage.

Acierno's Thalia Theater
46–48 Bowery, New York

All Saturday, Sunday, and Monday

NINA DE CHARNY

All Kinds of Spectacular Varieties

Couple *Vuolo-Narciso* *Vincenzo di Maio*, tenor
A. Bascetta, impersonator *Augusta Merighi*
Comedy Company *Allara*

Rosina Raino, Vittonio Somna, Elisa Perna; the Dramatic company *Perez-Cenerazzo* will give on Wednesday, the 24th, the spectacular drama in 5 acts

THE BLACK HAND

Giovanni de Rosalia and Company

Will give on Friday, September 25th, the comedy in 3 acts:

MR. MIKE'S MOTOR [1]

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[1] *Progresso Italo-Americano* (Italian), New York City.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FAMOUS ACTORS IN AMERICA

NAN	I	Shiki Samban-so
IWA		Hikimuki Dammari
BU		
SHI	II	Yukagura (Evening Music)
		Ryobensan
CO		The History of Kasuga
PRO	III	Oogira Shinrei Yagu chi-watashi
PRI		(The Spirit crossing River)
E		
TOR	IV	(The second part of III)
S		
	V	Oogiri, Kamakura-Sandaiki

One of the famous groups of actors whose manager is Samura Tojuro of Japan is coming here by the effort of some people who are interested in theatrical performances.

They have been in California, English Canada, San Francisco, and several cities in the neighborhood. They carried everything before them wherever they went.

We beg the ladies and gentlemen to favor us with their attendance and support. The actors will select one of their most favorite subjects and they are sure to satisfy you in every way.

SUE
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TER

The theater reserves the right to change any of their plays—The Californian *Fulenos* Theatrical Company Manager of the Suehiroza Theater [1]

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[1] These are all classical plays. They were written in the mediæval period, and some go back to the year 1000. They are expressive of the feudal spirit. These plays are all tragedies and are well known to the people.

AMERICAN ADVERTISEMENTS

What the immigrant wants most in getting adjusted to America is a job. The "Help Wanted" section figures prominently in the press of the industrial groups. City factory labor, and workers in the mines and steel mills, are at present in greatest demand.

LOADERS
With families and single.

THE RELIANCE COAL AND COKE COMPANY
GLOMAWR, KY.

The nearest town is Hazard, Ky. Perry Co. This is a drift mine. The upper layer is four feet and four inches high. No slag counted. Work is done with machinery. Steady job. Good workers earn from $80 to $120 in a couple of weeks. The plant is lighted. Cottages with electricity and water are rented for $1.50 per person. School and church. Come in person or write to the RELIANCE COAL AND COKE CO. GLOMAWR, KY. Take the Louisville and Nashville Ry. from Winchester Ky. or from McRoberts, Ky.[1]

The extent to which American products and services, in contrast to the products and services of the foreign-language group, are advertised, depends very much on the type of the group.

Industrial workers who are saving money, and who purchase little besides necessaries, depend on the business men and merchants of their own people except for shoes, rubber boots, tools, and gold watches, all of which are advertised by American manufacturers. The gold watch is the first luxury that the immigrant industrial desires. When the Ingersoll Watch Company was reducing its advertising appropriation during the war, it doubled its advertising in the foreign-language papers.[2]

[1] *Prosveta* (Slovenian), Chicago.

[2] Don S. Momard, "Advertising in the foreign-language press is no longer an experiment," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919.

Do not send us a single penny. If you send us the coupon we will willingly send the illustrated articles C.O.D. Some dealers require for inferior watches from $18.00 to $20.00. Do not wait; send the coupon right now, for the sale is to last a few days only.

This coupon is good for 30 days only!]

Union Novelty Co. Dept. 21.
1016 Milwaukee Av. Chicago, Illinois

Send me a 21 jewel gold-filled watch which is sold for the reduced price together with the 19 articles which are given free with the watch. I shall pay $13.95 when I receive the articles. If I do not take the watch, then you are to return my money.

Name.....

Address.....[1]

The Spanish and French provincial press of New Mexico, Texas, and of New England also, have little national advertising. They advertise the local department stores and businesses, and romantic and religious books.

The favorite luxury of city people seems to be the phonograph and phonograph records. There is a music store on Sixth Avenue, in New York City, which advertises records in twenty-three different languages. There are quite a number of Italian music and book stores on lower Mulberry Street, New York City, which is the center of the Neapolitan section. In addition to the familiar Italian pieces, these stores have the notes and records of songs written in this country by some of the younger Italian composers. Many of these are about such subjects as "The American Workingman" and "The Land of the Dollar," with melodies borrowed

[1] *Lietuva* (Lithuanian), Chicago.

partly from Italian music and partly from American ragtime.

The latest melody:

I WANT TO GO BACK TO NAPLES

Verses and music by
F. Pennino

Price $0.75

Piano Rolls

Musical Emporium
150 Mulberry Street,
New York, N. Y.

The oldest and largest assortment and the greatest establishment of its kind.[1]

The automobile is a luxury that most readers of the foreign-language papers cannot afford. Advertisements of schools where one can learn to drive an automobile appear in the city press; but only in the press of the Middle Western farmers and the commercial peoples, like the Greeks and part of the Spanish group, are auto advertisements to be found with any frequency. Even in these cases the cars are not high priced.

In examining the advertisements in the foreign-language press, we usually discover that the immigrant, in his own world, is behaving very much as we do in ours. He eats and drinks; looks for a job; goes to the theater; indulges in some highly prized luxury when his purse permits; occasionally buys a book; and forgathers with his friends for sociability. This is sometimes and in some cases a revelation.

[1] *Progresso Italo-Americano* (Italian: Neapolitan dialect), New York City.

VI

THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

The press of the earlier immigrant groups—the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, the French of New England, and the Spanish of New Mexico and Texas—has, far more than that of other groups, the characteristics of a provincial press.

The extent to which a press is provincial can be measured roughly by the number of local papers in little towns. The Scandinavians have 10 local papers, all of which have less than 2,000 circulation; the Germans, 71; the French, 7, and the Spanish, 28. However, the big German agricultural magazines, like the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Farmer*, with a circulation of 121,712 (1920), are just as provincial in their interests as these little local papers.

To the provincial, the most acceptable news is news about people whom he knows or places with which he is familiar. The first Assyrian weekly ever printed—the *Assyrian American Herald* of Chicago—collects letters containing information about the relatives and friends of the Assyrians in the United States. The *Nordstjernan*, the largest Swedish paper in the East, has a front page which contains nothing but news of the Swedish provinces. For the sake of this page the Swedish immigrant, who depends on American newspapers for current information, will subscribe to a Swedish paper.

The first considerable Norwegian emigration was of people from the province of Stavanger. These people

settled in Lee, Kendel, and Grundel counties, Illinois; and the *Visergutten*, which is published at Stony City, Iowa, though a regular local paper, is also, to a large extent, the organ of the Stavanger folk in the United States. These people are organized, and every year they have a reunion to which people come from all over the country.

The Germans had, in 1917, 571 provincial societies in the United States.[1] There are nine papers in the German language which print nothing but provincial news. Six of these papers represent the emigration from Luxemburg, Schwaben, Bayern, the Weser region, Ostfriesland, and Schleswig-Holstein respectively, from which provinces the bulk of the German immigration of the nineteenth century came.[2]

The press of the German-Russians, who are Mennonites, shows what the provincial press was in its beginnings. Many of these people left the Volga colonies of Russia in 1890, because their faith would not allow them to fight, and returned to Germany or came to America. During the recent war some of them left the United States and moved to Canada; and now that the war is over, there is some talk of their re-emigrating to the Western states. The church papers serve to maintain the relations between families and acquaintances in Russia, Germany, the United States, and Canada. Like the Scandinavian immigrants who came to the United States, they have clung to the literary language as a symbol of nationality, and there is no dialect in their press.

[1] *Vereins Adress Buch, fur das Jahr 1916–18*, German-American Directory Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[2] *Luxemberger Vereinszeitung*,* Chicago; *Schwabisches Wochenblatt*, New York City; *Bayerisches Wochenblatt*, Baltimore, Maryland; *Weser-Nachrichten*, Chicago; *Ostfriessische Nachrichten*, Breda, Iowa; *Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein*, Oak Park, Illinois.

* *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

Most of the provincial groups have two languages: an Americanized dialect which they speak, and a literary language which is also the language of the churches. In the Norwegian churches, for example, the literary language is preached from the pulpit, and after the service the congregation greet each other and converse in the dialect of the neighborhood.

The quotations from the provincial press, which illustrate these traits, have been grouped under the headings, "Heimweh and the Backward View," "The Stern Religion of the Fathers," and "The Secluded Life."

HEIMWEH AND THE BACKWARD VIEW

The provincial press is the press of a passing generation. Its readers, so far as they belong to the German and Scandinavian groups, are mostly old people whose minds are turning back with eagerness, sometimes with homesickness, to their memories. They are eager to correspond with others who have the same memories, who knew the same countryside in youth. The discovery of a mutual acquaintance is a bond of steel. They like to talk about old landmarks, and the use of the mother tongue takes on an especial sanctity.

Old Acquaintances

LEHIGH, June 25th.

Health, happiness, and every blessing to the staff and all the readers!

While I am writing this, my thoughts go back like lightning to my old home—Russia—in a desire to know what the situation is there. I hope that the dear God will also give them a rich harvest and help those who stand in need of it. I hope that the readers over there will keep us in touch with everything that happens.

It would be very interesting to me to read in this paper who are now the oldest people in my birthplace—Dreispitz—Russia. Here in Lehigh, the oldest person from Dreispitz is

Mother Andreas Meier, who is in her eighties, but still hardy. A little ways away there are also some other old Dreispitzer: Julia Feil, Gottfried Langholfer, and Gottfried Herbel, and a few others.

I belong in the sixties, my long beard is pretty gray though by this time. In the forty-two years that I have lived here I have grown old and gray, but I have never regretted that I went to America; I only wish that many more of my friends were also here.

Herewith I think I must close to-day. More some other time.

GEORG HEINZE [1]

Thanks, Carl Jonason of Britain, South Dakota, for your letter in the paper. Indeed I remember you, even though it was long ago. You wonder if my name is changed. Yes, two times at least since I came here. You also have been married twice. Your other wife was Swedish-American, the sister of John in Ramshult. Let us hear from you again.

Also, I was surprised to see a letter from you, Nelson, the miller of Hjulsnas. Indeed, I remember you and even Carl and Gustav. One is married in Leadville, Colo., the other died in Dakota. Of course, you know my father, John Person of Tammaryd. I do not know who has my father's place now. In the large village Skarap, we had many happy occasions, as the man of Skane said when he buried his dead wife; "I can't keep from laughing," said he, "when I think of the happy hours I had with that wife of mine." If any acquaintances who knows me see this, let us hear from you sometime.[2]

Mother Tongue

As you print so many letters in your paper, I would like to ask you to print mine too. I have two sons in the war, one of whom has been in France since Christmas. He used to write his letters in German. Since he is in France, he writes in English. It is not forbidden to write in German, but the captain says he cannot read German and he has to read the letters before they are sent. So I am sending you two

[1] *Mennonitische Rundschau* (German), Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

[2] *Svenska Amerikanaren* (Swedish), Chicago, Illinois.

letters, with the request that you will translate them into German and publish them in the paper. Sometimes I do not understand half of what is in the letters. So it would be a real favor to me if I could read them in the paper. With greetings! [1]

SAMUEL LIEDTKE

PIAPOT, SASKATCHEWAN, June 16, 1917.

Since you are so anxious that the readers send in new subscriptions, I will do my part too and send in some with this letter. If every reader would do his duty now, the number of readers would increase by thousands. We are living in a time when speech is silver but silence is golden. So let us when it is necessary "keep our mouths shut," but on the other hand, let us support this silent messenger our paper energetically, so that it spreads in every direction under the sun, and so that it may serve us with spiritual nourishment from near and far places every week.

In my last report I wrote that we had rain. But for a week we have had nothing but hot winds. If we do not have rain quickly, our harvest is gone. It all lies in God's omnipotent hand.

Where is our Jakol Jahraus, from whom we have not heard anything for such a long time? However, I must stop. With greetings to all the readers and the publishers! your comrade.

GOTTFRIED FREY [2]

The Home Earth

SEVERANCE, KANSAS
March 11, 1917

We like to read the *Ostfriessische Nachrichten* and they have lots of news about home. In the twenty-three years I was in Ostfriesland I did not learn as much about my home as I have learned recently through the *Ostfriessische Nachrichten*. It was interesting to me to read the story of Focko Ukena, who was my ancestor.

GEORG R. UKENA [3]

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[1] *Ostfriessische Nachrichten* (German), Breda, Iowa.
[2] *Mennonitische Rundschau* (German), Scottdale, Pennsylvania.
[3] *Ostfriessische Nachrichten* (German), Breda, Iowa.

Published at request:

O, if I could hear again
In German forests, green and cool,
The birds in May, and dream beside
The black wood pool.

O, to find and smell again
Wood-violets meek,
To fall asleep on woodlawn mosses
The Rhineland's breezes on my cheek.[1]

Herewith I am sending a year's subscription for the paper. I am thinking about going to Orsa, in the old Dalon (Sweden), in order that my grave may be with the graves of my fathers. This I am doing even although I have been in North America since I was twenty years old, or since 1869. I have traveled almost all over the entire country four times and have been to Sweden three times, also have visited England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and the Mexican republic. But in no place have I felt myself more at home than in Dalon, in all the other places I have been dissatisfied.[2]

THE STERN RELIGION OF THE FATHERS

The provincial press is mainly a religious press. The religion which it represents is the older, sterner religion of an earlier generation, which has remained relatively untouched by the customs and thought of the cities.

They insist upon literal interpretation of the old laws and strict conformation to the old customs. They look with horror on the "new theology," and condemn the frivolity of modern young people.

The Faith of 1580

The Synod, when it was founded, based itself on the complete word of God as it is found in the Old and New Testament, and on the complete Confession of Faith of the Evan-

[1] *Germania* (German), Milwaukee.
[2] *Svenska Amerikanaren* (Swedish), Chicago.

gelical Lutheran Church as it is laid down in the Concordance Book of 1580, which must be true of every Lutheran Synod that can, with right, deserve this name.

In some places people rebelled against the private confessional, this old Lutheran institution that, because of its usefulness and blessing, we would like to have brought into practice again in addition to the general confession. But the Synod had to let the matter drop because not only the need, but the understanding of it, was lacking. The assembling of a congregation was often made difficult on this account—the longer we were here, the more the spirit of the lodges or secret societies were a stumbling block in the path of church administration and the meetings of the church. As most of the lodges had and have religious practices, which exclude Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the world, the Synod had to declare its position in regard to them, and this position could not be otherwise than opposed and condemnatory.[1]

Many hearty thanks for the article on "The Trend of the New Theology" in the last number of the *Standaret*. What further fresh witness do we need here at home, now that we have heard the blasphemy? This trend has already gone far by word of mouth; now it is beginning to spread itself in *print* with more powerful expression than before, it seems. On the mission field this new theological trend from the University of Chicago is in full swing. Already it has created astonishment. Note a few lines from a letter which has come to us from a native preacher:

"Things are somewhat better in X, since the unbelieving clergy have left the island; but although these have gone, other new ones have come. I cannot understand how the boards can send these missionaries to de-Christianize the churches."

Just a short quotation on the subject from the book of the veteran, Dr. August H. Strong, which has already been mentioned in *Standaret* [he berates the Biblical interpretations of

[1] *Yearbook of the German Lutheran Synod of Iowa*, 1917, German Lutheran Publishing Company, 623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

some of the young men who now are going to the mission field]. . . .

A further quotation from this honored man who for forty years has trained ministers for this land and for the mission fields, where more than a hundred of his students are now laboring: "Some of our best missionaries have said to me, 'May the Lord preserve me from such co-workers!'" and further: "This evil comes over us like a flood and the Spirit of the Lord shall surely lift up the standard against it. But it is such a pity that money, given by God-fearing men for the purpose of sending men to spread the Gospel in these fields, shall be used to undermine the works of Christianity."

In this city (Los Angeles, California) is a man of prayer who seems to have no equal. The other Sunday we heard him in the city's largest temple, in a fervent prayer, call down, not God's blessing on the University of Chicago, but God's judgment upon the leaders in the institution, so that they may be confused and confounded. Since reading *Standaret* to-day, we better understand the justification of the prayer of this man of faith. Again I thank you![1]

Heinrich Foth, of Wonzos, Jacob Foth's son, broke his foot and died a few days later. Johann Kheiver's Heinrich died of typhus while he was in camp and their son Leonhard drowned when he was in swimming. All these have entered eternity before us, and if they held fast here to the faith they can now be at peace. May the dear Lord make us ready too to go in this serious time in which recklessness and indifference to His mercy is so great and peace has been taken away from the peoples of the earth. Revelations, vi:4. . . .

Now hearty greetings to all of you. May God protect you all, your parents and brother and sister in the Lord.

H. and A. Heier.[2]

The Sinner and the Fear of God

Before the people convert themselves, they must name the sins by name. They must see the extreme sin from the sins.

[1] *Svenska Standaret* (Swedish), Chicago. (Communication from E. Lund, Los Angeles, California.)

[2] *Mennonitische Rundschau* (German), Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Men in our nation have not seen that blackmail is plunder, that embezzlement is stealing, that speculation is gambling, that evading taxes is robbery against the government, that discrimination by railroads is cheating, that labor of children in factories is slavery, that poisonous substitutes is murder. It is not yet clear to them that the deceitful protectors eat up the home of the widow, that the monopolist grinds the face of the poor, that selfish publishers and charmers give bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter. What the human being sows, that he shall reap. For he who sows in his own flesh, shall reap ruin from the flesh.

We sow ruin in the dead bodies of our sons in the graves of the soldiers in France.

O, cruel, robber-usurious Belgium! O, God-forsaking France with your prostitute Paris! O, drunken England! O, America, loving riches and adoring the dollar! God calls you to sentence over your sins. Go, stand in His temple with bowed head and beating your breast and cry: "O, God, be merciful to us sinners." And God shall cleanse you of your sins. He shall lead you in the path of righteousness. He shall refresh your souls.[1]

In our day the question is often asked, especially by young Christians, "Must I as a Christian do this or that?" The first Christians showed how much one could give up for Jesus' sake; in our time, people seem to want to find out how much they can keep and still be good Christians. Is dancing a sin? Is theater-going a sin? But the question shows right away that he who asks has not the right inward attitude, which is only anxious to please the Lord. The person who asks usually has a mind bound by sinful lust and habits and tries to justify himself by getting others to declare that his conduct is blameless.

"All that you do in word and deed that do in the name of Jesus," says the apostle. Therefore, what we cannot do in the name of Jesus, whatever disturbs our communion with Him, whatever weakens our spiritual power, whatever puts

[1] *Volksvriend* (Dutch), Orange City, Iowa, June 27, 1918.

us in a position of doing the same thing that the world does; that is not allowed.[1]

The free-thinking *Berlin Tageblatt* calls the rescue of these children "a wonderful saving of life," even though it still retains the point of view that there are no wonders. But sometimes even unbelief acknowledges that a greater Power intervenes, just as in fear many cry to God, who otherwise want to know nothing of Him.[2]

THE SECLUDED LIFE

The provincial press is full of letters. The writers of these letters lead quiet and simple lives. Their great interests are the crops and the weather. The coming of the paper, an occasional letter from a friend, make the excitement of the week.

HARLAN, IOWA, April 2.

The *Ostfriessische Nachrichten* has become a necessity to me, for one is so glad to hear from old friends when one has made so many in the course of a long lifetime. At home I served for four years as a farm helper and as foreman in the Sande district. In 1867 I came to America; spent four years in Forrestin, Iowa, where I found many Ostfriessen; worked fifteen years on the railroad; and was a farmer for thirty years in Shelby County, Iowa. Now I have retired from farming and live here as the only Ostfriessen. In the loneliness my thoughts often wander back to old friends. If any of the readers should remember me, I would be very grateful for a letter. With hearty good wishes to all.

HARM HULSEBUS [3]

KINCOURTH, SASKATCHEWAN
June 19.

After long silence, I have the desire to write again to your readers. The weather this year is not very favorable. Lots

[1] *Mennonitische Rundschau* (German), Scottdale, Pennsylvania.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ostfriessische Nachrichten* (German), Breda, Iowa.

of poor farmers will have to open their purses wide to pay for feed for their cattle. Opening one's purse would be no great art if there were much in it. But the two-edged proverb has it "Money is the least necessary thing." So many farmers sit and ponder deeply over the future.

O, that God in His mercy would relent and take pity on His children and help us out of our dire necessity with a soaking rain, so that at least there would be a little feed grown. Only so would the heavy care be taken from the shoulders of many. To-day is the fourth day that the wind blows from the east, which one regards here in Canada as a sign of rain. [The east wind sign for rain also exists in Kansas and Oklahoma and perhaps in other states.—Editor.] But an east wind had often made us believe that we were going to have rain and we were disappointed. Often it would get dark, the lightenings would blaze, the thunders would crash, and just when we thought it was going to rain, the wind would turn and blow it all away. In another district, it is said to have rained hard, but here we were subject to the wind and the dust. We have not yet given up hope, however, for the old God still lives. Lots of people said this spring that this year we would have a good harvest, but we are gradually coming to admit that all the prophesies are wrong. Enough for this time, or else I will cook my goose with the editor with this long complaint.

[The editor would not be afraid
If you had written more, instead,
He only hopes that it will rain,
And you will have sufficient grain.—Ed.]

With greetings to the readers and the staff, I am Your Fellow reader,

Adolf A. Anhorn, son of Gottlieb [1]

There is more of the element of adventure to be found among the French and Spanish than among the other provincial groups. These are border peoples, and their

[1] *Mennonitische Rundschau* (German), Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

situation gives opportunity for smuggling and other evasions of the law.

For a Great Theft of Furs.

An individual of La Riviere-du-Loup, Province of Quebec, was arrested to-day in Salem.

SALEM—Charles Levassau, of La Riviere-du-Loup, Quebec, was arrested Monday at the order of the chief of Police of Rimouski.

Levassau is accused of stealing silver fox skins valued at $10,000.[1]

They lose their Loot.

Two valises containing twenty gallons of whiskey are seized by the police.

NORTH ADAMS—Dolphus Denault, forty-four years old, of Beaver Street, this city, and Wilfred Gosselin, twenty-two years old, of Lacolle, Canada, who were arrested for having illegally smuggled intoxicating liquors to this country, were taken to Plattsburg, New York, by inspector Harry Gondreau, who succeeded in catching them.

Pierre Parker, a brother-in-law of Denault, was also arrested in Canada to answer a similar accusation.

It seems that Denault went to Canada, where he bought the liquor which he smuggled to North Adams through Gosselin.[2]

The Burke Case Opens

This Case is Arousing Very Great Interest in Maine

SKOWHEGAN, Maine—The suit against John H. Burke, once sheriff of Somerset County, who is accused of the murder of Nelson W. Bartley of Jackman, began to-day in the Court of Assizes.

Bartley was the proprietor of a famous inn at Jackman which was the meeting place of all the huntsmen of the east.

[1] *Opinion Publique* (French), Worcester, Massachusetts.
[2] *Ibid.*

He is one of the best-known figures in the region and the case has awakened considerable interest.

The Bartley brothers were very well acquainted with the smuggling of whiskies and furs that goes on at Jackman. This village is very near the Canadian boundary and is well known as the rendezvous of the smugglers.

The authorities, who have for several weeks been seeking for the cause of the murder, declare that they have found it. It concerns a young girl who has been held as witness by the state. It seems that she entertained a good deal of affection for Bartley and also for Burke.

Fifty witnesses, five medical experts, two experts in handwriting, and sixty candidates for the jury have arrived in Skowhegan for the trial.

The choice of a jury was made to-day. The trial will last at least two weeks.[1]

A picture of the simplicity and beauty of the lives of these readers is often revealed in their letters.

Dear Editor: After a long time I am coming again with few news. I would do it sooner already, but it was impossible to me, being very busy with the farm work. In the first place I must thank the officers of the "Apostolate of Prayers" for the pictures which they have sent me. They are very beautiful pictures with prayers and litanies. I recommend them to all readers of this paper.

The children of this school have played a nice play which a considerable number of people came to see. Admission totaled $20.50, which amount was donated to the Red Cross. May 12th we had in our church of the Lord a beautiful celebration; two new statues have been dedicated to the Heart of Lord Jesus and St. Joseph. These have been bought with the help of our parishioners by our Reverend. At two o'clock all parishioners met in the church of the Lord. When the most Reverend gentleman who was coming to help our Reverend master arrived, all the parishioners left the church and arranged a procession. The girls (white-dressed) were

[1] *Opinion Publique* (French), Worcester, Massachusetts.

carrying the statue of the Heart of Jesus and men carried the statue of St. Joseph. When they stepped in the church, that most Reverend priest (whom I don't happen to know) held an English sermon, in which he described shortly the life of Lord Jesus and St. Joseph; then our Reverend had a Bohemian sermon. After this, dedication of these statues followed, then benediction with the Sacrosanct and the choral "Te Deum Laudamus" and the celebration ended.

I say many regards to editors, all readers and reporters of this paper.

MARTIN PERCELIK [1]

The summer season of 1918 is gone by and we have to prepare for the winter as fast as possible. I am always sorry when the summer takes leave; its careless poetry, coloration, bird songs, buzzing of insects and the long days. Already twice a sharp wind from the North and Northwest came, before which the ducks and geese have covered their feet, and sitting in flocks on the grass of the yard, have put their little heads behind their wings, as if they would like to say that their best thought of to-day is to get warm. But the hen's mother-instinct is not afraid of winter. Not long since two clucking hens have led their chicks from the barn, where they layed their eggs and where they hatched them with a resolution. One does not know if he should be angry over such a clucking hen or to laugh at her, when suddenly she appears with her little children in a time when we think that the feeding and care will cease, and when the nights are cold and rainy and the weather unsettled. But when they are already here, nothing is left but to care for them together with the rest of the chickens, in order that they may dress in a warm coat. The clucking hen takes a good care of them at night. If one is on a farm he must get used to the idea that every once in a while something unexpected will happen and then he must leave go everything else. Various experiences harden even the most awkward novice so that he does not become excited by anything and learns to think and act quickly.

[1] *Narod* (Bohemian), Chicago, May 30, 1918.

I am trying to figure out why this season has passed so quickly; I am finding an explanation for it in that the novelty of farming was not quite as interesting as in the first season, and then also in that our thoughts have been more attracted to what happens in Europe than to our own neighborhood. Till the middle of July it has seemed as if the Germans will have to push thru to Paris and to the main French ports—Calais and Dunkirk—and later, when the victory so heavily paid for turned in the course of a single day into a large defeat and the Germans began their way back so as they are forced to continue all the time, the days and weeks were measured according to that what had been accomplished in France and not according to the work on farm. And in the meantime, days and weeks are passing in a foolish flight into the past and leave almost no trace in memories. Except, when a friendly soul calls in for a day or two or when the course of monotony is interrupted by a departure to the dear New York. This interrupts somewhat that fast journey into the future. The calls on friends and those in New York are to me like stops at nice interesting stations, where one can see and learn many news. When the call is over, we went again in the fast train of the daily toil and everyday worries, and go and go—nobody knows where.[1]

[1] *Baltimorske Listy* (Bohemian), Chicago, September 13, 1918.

VII

THE COSMOPOLITAN PRESS

THE cosmopolitan press is, in the main, the press of migrant industrial workers, and the groups most separate from the American life or the exotics. It is the press of a people who live in cities, but more or less in isolation from the American community. They exist in a world in which much is going on, and they depend upon the newspapers in their own language for their knowledge about it. In the metropolitan press, crime and the dramatic phases of life replace the personal and religious news and the general reminiscent tone of the provincial press. Four hundred and sixty-three papers, published in twenty-eight languages, make up the cosmopolitan press.

The Japanese and the Yiddish press, although each has a marked personality which perfectly expresses the idiosyncrasies of its group, are the most characteristic and interesting forms of the cosmopolitan press. The Jews have nineteen papers in Manhattan alone, and the Japanese have twenty-nine papers in the coast cities of Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. These papers typify the variety and sophistication of the urban press.

THE JAPANESE PRESS

The Japanese are among the most exotic of the immigrant groups. They are not allowed to belong to labor unions, nor to become citizens. Although they are largely an agricultural people, they work as migrant

laborers in communities where agriculture is more highly organized and specialized than elsewhere. The bitter hostility of the Americans on the coast increases their isolation. While all this tends to limit the horizon of their interests, it also creates a heightened self-consciousness which finds expression, not in political or nationalistic activities, but in intensified sentiment, in humor, and in the efficiency of the press and their other social organizations.

In San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles, the Japanese-American community attains organization. San Francisco is the old capital of the Japanese, the center of intellectual life, and of commercial and official relations with the home country. Its dailies, the *Japanese American News* and the *New World*, have editorials and articles on such topics as Americanization and Reconstruction. San Francisco has only seven papers to Los Angeles' twelve, but these two dailies lead the press with a combined circulation of 21,000.

Los Angeles is the newest Japanese center. Its papers circulate in the agricultural settlements of the Japanese around Los Angeles. The two dailies—the *Japanese Daily News* and the *Sun*—have daily market reports for the truck gardeners. These papers are full of gossip, sensation, and fiction. They contain articles on the care of babies, the Los Angeles birth rate of the Japanese being four times as high as that of San Francisco. It has also a number of prefectural papers, the largest of which is the *Gei-Bi-Jin*, whose 900 readers emigrated from the prefecture of Hiroshima, Japan. This paper urges its readers to rivalry with other prefectural groups.

Seattle is an older community, and the stream of travel and commerce that pours into its seaport keeps the interest in Japanese news alive. The dailies no longer carry merely local news, as do those in Los

Angeles; but, like the Los Angeles papers, they have no editorials. They have worked out something which seems more satisfactory to their readers.

The *Great Northern Daily News* of Seattle prints no editorials. There is, however, a column devoted to the use of the editor and contributors for miscellaneous discussions and observations. Here one reads whimsical remarks and mock-philosophical observations on life, death, suicide, funerals, the new world order, etc. It is from this column that I learn that the editor, Mr. K. Takeuchi, has been an old bachelor and remained hostile to the fair sex until he accepted a picture-bride in June, 1918, since which date his position has necessarily been compromised. But he still holds that woman is not fully entitled to be called a human being.

. . . He speaks little of politics, but goes into the heart of the people, although the subject of his remarks is usually trifling. He has a thorough American viewpoint and is sympathetic toward American life; *e.g.*, he picked up some of the humorous experiences of the Asahi Baseball Club, which was composed of all American-born Japanese young men who were sent to Japan a year ago. It's just about as humorous as Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*.[1]

Outside the three big cities, the Japanese population is more or less migratory, and the press deals almost exclusively with local gossip.

Early in the present century the Japanese laborers commenced to pour into the intermountain region from the Pacific coast. The nomadic, shiftless, and turbulent populace was about to settle into something like stable communities when Mr. Lida began his journalistic career with the first Japanese vernacular newspaper in the whole region. He had once been a school-teacher in his home province in Japan, and was one of the few intellectual leaders among the immigrants in the mountain states. He is still one of the best liked and most respected men among the Japanese in

[1] Unpublished notes of Shiko Kusama.

that district. He has been successful. He advises his fellow countrymen to settle on farms, and his paper, the *Rocky Mountain Times* of Salt Lake City, tries to assist the farmers. It, of course, disseminates local news, supplies reading material, and acts as advertising medium for the large mining companies, beet-sugar companies, and railroads, which need a large number of men at different seasons of the year. The paper welcomes literary contributions from its readers, who find great pleasure in seeing their poems and stories in print. The paper circulates among the Japanese chiefly in Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming.[1]

The policy of the *Tacoma Japanese Times* seems to be to appeal to the local pride by praising Tacoma and the enterprise of the Tacoma Japanese. It is anxious to show that Tacoma is more prosperous than Seattle, and to draw more Japanese to the city. No national news is printed, but some fugitive news of the Japanese group in town appears on its third page. The two reading columns on the second page are devoted to poetry and literary contributions, and the third to suggestive literature on women and sex matters (these are subjects most interesting to the community of young unmarried laboring men), while the first page has editorials and some more literary contributions. The editorial attitude is frank, bold, and belligerent toward the general policy of the larger and more responsible Japanese newspapers in many things. The paper is strongly nationalistic, advocates the teaching of the Japanese language to the children in America, and cultivation of the Japanese spirit.[2]

The *Stockton Times* is not interested in news, which is amply supplied by the large San Francisco dailies to the residents of Stockton. It specializes in satires on local persons and affairs, and devotes a large portion of its space to the tavern literature, or the follies, humors, and scandals that emanate from the local Japanese restaurants, which, with their pretty waitresses and *sake* bottles, are the great socializing institution of

[1] Unpublished notes of Shiko Kusama.
[2] *Ibid.*

the Japanese community. Here business men, journalists, laboring men of the town, and the farmers come to eat, to drink, to chat, to quarrel, and to be made friends; to celebrate some one's birthday, or to plan a large business enterprise—always to be waited upon by the pretty, accomplished waitresses, who play on the *samisens* and sing.

These women are, perhaps, the most-talked-of persons in the Japanese group. The newspaper publishes articles concerning them and those who admire their beauty. Autobiographies of the local beauties, the confessions of prominent men about their first love, a notorious divorce case, the jealous host of a certain restaurant, are some of the subjects that run serially in the paper. They make a sort of literature of decadence, but reveal with an amazing realism the local conditions of life. There seems to be little invention in these stories, and the names are all real names.

The editors and the contributors are brilliant writers, but their interests are limited. They do not discuss political and social problems, but they hold extremely liberal views on politics as well as on social morality and sex. They are thorough believers in democracy, care very little about the hallowed traditions of their homeland, and laugh at the Imperial rule founded on a myth.[1]

The most interesting things that have been written about the Japanese have been written by themselves and printed in their own papers. It is only in this and the Jewish press that the subjective life of the immigrant has become articulate.

The Japanese society at home is highly organized, and the Japanese society here is an adaptation of this tradition to American life. They retain most of their traditional interests. Farming is the tradition in Japan, and it remains the principal interest of the American community.

The Japanese press is greatly exercised in regard to the anti-Japanese movement on the coast, and it re-

[1] Unpublished notes of Shiko Kusama.

cords any manifestation of feeling against the Japanese which takes place elsewhere in the United States.

For the present Japanese problem in California the Japanese press is exerting a unique influence for their own group. While I was in Los Angeles I have been asked a number of times whether there was any anti-Japanese feeling or movement on the part of Americans in the Middle West or in the East. They seemed very much concerned about the present anti-Japanese agitation in the state. Nearly everyone I met there spoke of it with a seriousness which demanded my attention to the sources of such information. . . .

A little account printed in the American press was translated at length and was usually very much longer than the original text, with an additional write-up by the editors. (The items so gathered were not confined to the local events, but were collected from all over the state and the country.) By so editing, the papers gave the impression that every American was active in promoting the anti-Japanese movement, and the items printed were events taking place simultaneously, when they covered a period of a week or two. . . .

This attitude was well shown in a conversation with one of the leading men in Los Angeles during a trip downtown on the street car. When seated in the car I took out the morning edition of the Japanese paper and started to read it there. Thereupon my friend cautioned me not to do so, as it would furnish a reason for anti-Japanese agitation by showing that the Japanese are not able to assimilate American culture.[1]

The quotations from the Japanese press are entitled: "Japanese Heritages," "The Restlessness of Immigrants," and "The New Race Consciousness."

JAPANESE HERITAGES

Although not all the Japanese come to stay, many of them settle on the land, and their press reflects this tendency.

[1] Shiko Kusama (correspondence).

Our Japanese society here in America is composed of three classes of immigrants.

To the first class belongs the man who has come to make money and has no intention of staying here longer than necessary. He will save, invest in land, and build his house at home, become a money-lender in his native village. He wants four or five thousand dollars more, then—good-by, America.

To the second class belongs he who does not know and don't care if he will go home or stay here. His present concern is to pursue his work with a single heart. Time will bring him the opportunity to return to Japan, or a happy and profitable occupation to keep him permanently in America.

To the third class belongs he who is determined to settle here permanently. His home is whatever place is comfortable to live in. His children are born here, his business grows, and his money is tied up with it. Once he made a visit to his homeland and discovered that it is not so attractive as it had seemed to him. His old friends had become estranged, and he found little pleasure in talking with them. But he met on the train a stranger who, like him, had come back from America, and what a happy time he had chatting so heartily with him! Then and there he made up his mind to return to America as a permanent settler.

The man of the first class is a mere fortune seeker of the lowest type, and is usually found to be one who had first come to Hawaii in the care of some immigration company, crossing to the continent afterward. And when he returns to Japan, his money will quickly be squandered, and he will return to America again to start all over again, perhaps this time as a permanent resident.

The man of the second group will have children, enter a business, and visit Japan, and will finally transfer himself to the third class.

And this third class is the only class worthy to inherit the earth.—*Great Northern Daily News*, Seattle.

SAN GABRIEL—The Committee on Agriculture of the Japanese Association is trying to improve the agricultural

condition of the Japanese farmers and decided to have a discussion of the ways and means to carry out the program at the Association Hall on the eighteenth.—*Japanese Daily News*, Los Angeles.

Gambling, Waitresses, and Sake

It is reported that there have been numerous gamblings going on among the Japanese in the hotels, restaurants, and pool rooms. A member of the Vigilance Committee on Morals of the Japanese Association of the city expressed the opinion that if the practices were not stopped immediately the committee would take a drastic measure to limit the practice as far as possible.—*Japanese-American News*, San Francisco.

Yesterday we received a letter with the postmark of Idaho Falls, whose content is to this effect: There is a certain Japanese hotel in Idaho Falls where bad women stay to exploit our brothers and where a certain kind of liquor is brewed for American and Mexican customers. The fact is already known to the town authorities, and it would be better for the hotel management to do one thing or the other.

If the above communication is true, we advise our friends in that city to look into the matter before it is too late, and to try to keep unsullied the moral reputation of their community.—*Utah Nippo*, Salt Lake City.

A year has passed now. What is the substitute that has appeared? Is it women? No. Is it gambling? No. It is book and pen. Since prohibition the practice of reading books has become amazingly popular among our workingmen, and they have been writing far more frequently to their friends in America and to their parents and relatives at home in Japan. Of course, we have had a few men arrested for violating the law, but their number is negligible when we consider the entire Japanese population in our state. . . .

It is said that our hotels, rooming houses, and restaurants have also been benefited. Why? Because our men no longer spend the whole night on the street as before prohibition; nor

are they squandering their money for liquor which they should spend for food. . . . It must be noted, also, that these places are doing more cash business than before, and are happy that they do not have to extend credit to so many dubious guests as formerly.—*Utah Nippo*, Salt Lake City.

Matters of community need and interest are often taken care of by Japanese organizations.

Japanese Association of Los Angeles held its regular meeting last night and discussed the problem of taking the census of the Japanese community.—*Japanese Daily News*, Los Angeles.

The officers of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce met last night to discuss the question of the restriction of Japanese rice export from the home country. They decided to send the protest to the home government for such measure, and ask to raise the ban on restriction.—*Japanese-American News*, San Francisco.

The Central Japanese Association is now making the survey of the economic resources of the Japanese residing in this country.—*Japanese Daily News*, Los Angeles.

Christians and Buddhists

These days our camp in the country receives many visits from Christian ministers of the Southern California Evangelical Association. There are many meetings and sermons, but they stir the people's hearts comparatively little.

I have heard the Christian minister speak. He criticizes Japan in this way and that, and speaks of his own country as if it were miserably inferior to the Western countries. That at once makes his hearers feel very unpleasant. Next, his illustrations are all taken from the Western peoples, as though there were nothing worth talking about in Japan. This also displeases the audience. And, worst of all, there comes sometimes a minister who, in spite of the fact that he is a Japanese, talks like a foreigner, proudly misplacing the accent. In this way he expects to build in our midst a spiritual

kingdom. How foolish!—*North American Herald,* Los Angeles.

We doubt the wisdom of endeavoring to inculcate in our children (Japanese children in America) the narrow nationalism that grew up at a peculiar stage of Japan's development; or the Chinese and Buddhistic thoughts and ideals difficult for the modern people to understand.—*Colorado Times,* Denver.

THE RESTLESSNESS OF IMMIGRANTS

The isolation of the immigrant in his American surroundings, and his homesickness, naturally make him restless. In the Japanese this is often expressed in mental examination of his situation, its drawbacks and possible improvement, or in long, homesick reveries.

The Émigré

After supper he went out of the camp and walked toward the riverside. A flower of yellow color on the opposite cliff seemed as if it were floating. He sat down on his favorite stone and began to meditate upon things in general. He repeats the same task day after day with a feeling of distaste; he has no friend to talk with, so meditation is the pleasantest thing for him under the circumstances. He surrenders himself to the cool evening sky which stole over the creek in the valley. He feels as if his mind had been oppressed by something melancholy. He liked the feeling, though, and his imagination turned on things of various kinds. He pictures to himself his successful career, his return to Yokohama harbor. In that picture of the imagination there emerges a gentleman of middle size, Mr. O.; A. B. with another gentleman in a naval uniform with a broad face; Mr. A. with a square face; Mrs. U. with a beautiful daughter, and another lady. The lady said to him: "I am very glad to see your success," concealing the tears in her eyes. But no enthusiasm, no fire. She is already another man's wife. His imagination dragged and turned from one thing to another. Finally he lifted up his eyes, which were filled with blood. Melancholy darkness surrounded him on all sides.—

Contest: "Under the Evening Sky," by a certain "Kigoshi." *Japanese-American News*, San Francisco.

In a Café

Late at night a friend from the country took me to a downtown café with two other couples. As soon as we sat down one of our companions began to snooze even through the noise of the ragtime that rose and fell in the barroom next door. Two night watchmen, followed by a soldier, came in and stared at us.

"What a good-looking fellow he is!" exclaimed one of my girl chums. She was so fascinated by him that she was not sure that she was eating. "I love the American style of soldier, best," she confessed.

I tried to read what the English words on the election placard in the window meant, but I could only make out each letter of the alphabet, and no more. I was disgusted at not knowing English, neither to speak nor to write. If I could only talk a little! To study is impossible in my present situation and I cannot even go shopping by myself. I have often resolved to study under a competent teacher, but am often disappointed and disgusted. *Shikataganai* (it cannot be helped) was the last ditch and I go wild for want of something which I cannot get.

While my chum fell in love with the soldier I was thinking and hardly knew that I had almost finished my big steak.

How delicious cool ice water is!

As we came out in the dark, summer stars were twinkling brightly and quiet night filled the city. It looks as though we may have hot weather to-morrow again.—*Stockton Times*, "Woman's Heart," Stockton.

THE NEW RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

The isolation of the Japanese in America has the added effect of making them keenly self-conscious, as a race. This leads to analysis of the position of their group in the country. They forecast its probable development,

note the changes caused by environment, and point out danger signs.

The Japanese Problem from the Inside

If the Japanese problem in America is to end, it will end only when the Japanese immigrants have all left the American shore, or when their place in this land has become too eminently prosperous to admit any hostile criticism. Until one of these two things happens, we will continue to be the object of discussion, and the victims of contempt and oppression. Now, in order to end this unpleasant Japanese problem, shall we advance aggressively or withdraw abjectly? Here lies our choice.

The choice is not easy to make. In the past the so-called enlightened leaders of the Japanese communities in America have assumed the passive attitude, desiring, to put the matter frankly, to avoid the problem rather than to solve it. Even now they are still following the policy of weak submission. They advocate the eradication of Japanese signs from our shops, the complete Americanization, the abolition of Japanese schools, etc., etc., in all of which we fail to detect a speck of the aggressive spirit.

The Japanese do not like people of another race. No outward cordiality can hide the deep-rooted repugnance toward another race. They hate the Eurasian. . . . Some of our prominent public men, such as Ozaki, Niitobe, Nagai, and Aoki, have married foreign women, and it is said that their families and children are not very happy in Japan. This is not theory, but fact.

Japan will not tolerate other nations interfering with its government, either. So we can easily understand the case of America if it dislikes the Japanese and refuses to give them citizenship. As there are Japanese who prefer to marry white women, so there are Americans who are really fond of Japanese. But in general the Japanese are not loved in America by Americans. This natural dislike finds expression in the unjust and oppressive anti-Japanese movements. To complain of the injustice of the Americans in granting to Euro-

pean people the right to naturalization and refusing the same right to the Japanese is futile. Americans don't like us and are saying so.

This racial dislike could never be destroyed unless the Japanese acquire white skin, blue eyes, and yellow hair. Since we cannot hope for this miracle, we cannot but march on fearlessly as we are. We need not court troubles, but we must exercise our full rights within the sphere of our activity. There is no need of submission, reserve, or fear. Indeed, it is these things that bring upon us contempt, oppression, and hostility.

Let us approach the Americans without fear and build our own strength and position in their midst till they withdraw their weapons of oppression and hostility.—*Tacoma Japanese Times*, Tacoma, Washington.

Supposing that our children grow up to be adepts in the handling of the English language, expert baseball players, deft dancers, landowners, and voters, it is still doubtful if they would be able to live on the same level as the white people.

We all know well that the Negroes are full American citizens, but the white citizens ostracize them, despise them, persecute them.

There are some enlightened men in our Japanese group who are ashamed of teaching the Japanese alphabet to their children, and refrain from the use of soy-bean soup, boiled rice, and the bean sauce, this last named being offensive to the American nostrils. These people are doing everything they can to please Americans. How would they like it when they find, some day, a permanent yellow stratum in the American society as there is a black one already?

Here is a question. We cannot afford to pass it up as a mere question for scholars to discuss, because we are beginning to have our own children.—*North American Herald*, Los Angeles, California.

Domestic Relations

The day before yesterday the Central Japanese Association was requested to look after the three new brides just arrived

at San Francisco. The prospective bridegrooms are one Sugiyama of Florin, who was ill and unable to come to the immigration office to take his bride; and the other two are Tajiri and Kubo of Colorado, who are too far away to come to the port. These men sent their certificates, issued by the Colorado Japanese Association, to the Central Japanese Association, with recommendation as to their good standing financially and otherwise in the Japanese community.—*The New World* (Japanese), San Francisco, California.

In the Japanese communities in the intermountain region, the woman, who is the mistress of the home, is inexperienced and ignorant of American ways and manners. Having come over here only a year or two ago, or three or four at most, she is far less acquainted with American life than her husband who, wandering about, has lived in America for many years.

If she goes straight to her husband's field when she arrives and remains there without hearing a word of English, and without seeing anything of American culture, how is she to bring up her children? . . .

Our immediate need is to educate our women.—*Colorado Times* (Japanese), Denver, Colorado.

The birth rate in the Japanese communities in America has been steadily growing during the past ten years, so that now the number of births is estimated to be near seven thousand a year.

What invites our attention is the great discrepancy in age between the father and the babe. In many cases the father is a half-old man of fifty, while his children are only four or five years old. When the latter reach the age of twenty the former will be approaching the grave, if not actually in it. Time will come when our community will be made up of weak, half-dead old men and immature and reckless youths. Who will guide the young men and women of our community twenty years hence? There is no answer.

It is true that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" permits the parents in this country to send for their sons and daughters in Japan that are under age, and we see a small influx of boys

and girls in their teens into our community. These are sometimes sent to the American public schools to learn English, but the preponderant tendency is to earn rather than to learn. When three and a half dollars is offered to a mere green boy who has just landed, it is very natural that he should, and does, prefer the work to the study. But does he spend the money wisely? We hesitate to reply in the affirmative.

Moreover, these young people quickly lose the Japanese virtue of filial piety and obedience to parents, and adopting American individualism, they run away from their parents to wander about everywhere.

Yet our community of twenty years hence will have to depend on these few young newcomers of to-day. These are a most precious handful, which we cannot afford to neglect. They form the link between the decaying age and the immature youth, and twenty years hence they will have to serve as the bridge over an inevitable and dangerous gulf in our community.

This is why we urge so strongly an organized and systematic education and training of the young boys and girls who have come to America in recent years.—*Hoku-shin-Juho*, San Francisco.

Last Friday evening a dance was given by the Japanese Girls' Club, at Corinth Hall. The club was organized by the Japanese girl students of the city, assisted by the patronesses of the community. The present club is the first attempt to organize a social club among the girls of the Japanese community after the American fashion. This social affair was attended by a large number of the leading men and women of the community, who received the guests of the evening. The decoration of the hall and the arrangement of the program suggested the atmosphere of American social life, with a total lack of the ways of the Far East.

While I watched the progress of the evening I could not help but feel the good that this sort of undertaking brings to the life of the young people in the community by giving them the feeling that they, too, can have, as their American sisters have, a social life; and I quietly hoped that a great deal of

good may come out of this club activity without the corresponding weakness of over-socialization.—*Great Northern Daily News* Seattle. (Miscellaneous notebook by Tarosaku.)

There was organized the first Japanese baseball team in the Imaji Girls' High School.—*Japanese-American Commercial Weekly*, New York City.

The War

The pictures are those of Hawaiian-born Japanese boys who have gone to the front. These boys, whom some of us have known in our city, will be fighting somewhere in France under the Star Spangled Banner. Through them we will feel what war really means. We will think of them with deep love and anxiety, and our hearts will beat in unison with those of our white neighbors whose dear ones are also over there.—*Japanese Daily News*, Los Angeles, California.

On the train from New York to Trenton we embryo-soldiers were carried to the same destination, but our thoughts were widely different. To me it was a confusion of impressions. I thought of the home which I left years ago, of friends, and of myself. When I was still a little boy I went with my brothers to see our soldiers off for the front in the Russo-Japanese War. Then I could not feel the pulse of the men who went to the front, but I felt it in my heart as I was sent off to camp life.

When we arrived at Trenton we were ordered to march to the camp, which was several miles distant. Many of us felt the pressure of army life with our tired feet, for although it was once my pleasure to walk across country, since my coming to America I had become accustomed to convenient transportation.

That evening I enjoyed my first army mess, which was very inviting to the hungry group.

In this camp there are seven or eight Japanese already, and among them one captain, who is well spoken of. The day after my arrival I was assigned as kitchen orderly and for drill on alternate days. I did not like the kitchen work, but

it is necessary war work, and I followed directions. Next day our lieutenant came over and asked the soldiers to take out insurance. It is the tenet of Bushido not to bother about money matters, as the soldier's fate and fame is death on the fighting lines, but my duty is to support my parents at home, so, that they might realize something after my death, I wrote ten thousand dollars' insurance. The lieutenant seemed surprised to see it, and he may have thought that I was a miser even after death.—*Japanese Times*, New York City. (From Camp Dix, by Nigashi.)

WATSONVILLE BRANCH—The Japanese in this valley organized last night a War Aid Fund Association, with a membership fee of one dollar minimum. The sum collected will be distributed as follows:

$15,000 to the Red Cross; $15,000 to the Y. M. C. A. war fund; $2,500 to the Knights of Columbus; $3,000 to the Belgian Relief Fund; and $2,000 to the Armenian Relief Fund.—*Japanese-American News*, San Francisco.

THE YIDDISH PRESS

New York is the great Jewish center, and the most densely populated Jewish section in New York is the East Side, the section which lies east of the Bowery and south of Houston Street. The life of this section is vividly reflected in the press.

The quotations from the Yiddish papers have been entitled "The Old Religion and the New Nationalism," "Conflicts; the Jew in War and Peace," and "Life on the Lower East Side."

THE OLD RELIGION AND THE NEW NATIONALISM

The Jews have always been assimilationists. They have discarded the language and religious customs of their parents with greater readiness than other immigrant groups. But in one way or another many of

them are returning to an appreciation of their racial heritage and to a new race consciousness.

How shall we educate our children? *Prize Contest!* . . . Says the *religious* Jew: "When I was a child I, too, had perhaps no desire for study, but nevertheless grew up a pious Jew. Why, then, can't I make my children follow my path?"

. . . The *radical* thinks: "My parents were religious, and I grew up a freethinker. But this did not prevent me from understanding and honoring them. But why does my child not understand me, and why can I not make him respect my ideals?"

. . . Says the *plain* Jew: "In my old home I was ready to do anything in order to remain a Jew. Over there the children feel that they are Jews and know how to appreciate their Judaism. Over here there are no obstructions to be a Jew—why, then, do my children grow up like Gentiles and refuse to have anything to do with Judaism?"

. . . Says the *American* Jew (who does not worry about piousness, radicalism, or nationalism): "Seemingly my children attend the same schools as the Americans, speak English, and play with American children, and yet they are not Americans—something is lacking. . . . One of my children asks me, 'Why do they call me "Sheeny" ?' And a second wants to know why I don't take him to 'church'? How can I make my children grow up into men with sound souls, so that they will not be tortured by questions that tortured me?" . . .

Various remedies are adopted: Religious Jews open Hebrew schools, offering education in the old-fashioned way; radical Jews create national-radical schools or "free schools," where children are taught Hebrew and Yiddish, or Yiddish only, in a modern way; assimilated Socialists are sending their children to Socialist Sunday schools; and other Jews just let it go as it comes. So that confusion in the matter of education reigns . . . a danger to Jewish culture here.—*Day*, New York City, August 14, 1915.

A reader who is employed by another Jew is threatened with the loss of his position if he fails to report on the great

holiday of "Yom Kippur." He asks for advice. The editor replies that for his faith the Jew has lost his life. In America, he says, there were cases where husbands had left their wives and children hungry and refused to work on the Sabbath. He concludes by saying that true religious people do not ask whether they ought to violate a holiday by working on that day. . . . The process of assimilation in this country among Jews who believe that "Judaism is a mere religious sect," goes on a larger scale. But we only hear of the prominent persons deserting us—like R. Guggenheim. But in reality, assimilation is assuming huge proportions, and has always been the direct result of the extreme Reform Judaism.

If this country would educate Jewish children in a Jewish national spirit, they would be the best, noblest, and most self-sacrificing of Jews.— D. M. Hermalin, in the *Day*, New York City, August 23, 1915.

The Roots of Zionism

"From man to man." . . . I do not like a Gentile who does not dislike a Jew, just as I have no love for the Jew who does not dislike a Gentile. An honest Gentile . . . must be more or less of an anti-Semite, just as an upright Jew must be more or less of an anti-Gentile. I dislike a man who likes everybody and everything. I suspect such a person of having base motives of lying—even to himself. . . . I am an honest Jew and do not like Gentiledom. I may like one or two Gentiles, even a hundred; but Gentiledom as a whole remains strange to me. . . . And I reflect that if the Gentile be honest and faithful he must despise the Jew. . . . And when I walk through the woods with a Gentile who is a friend of the Jews . . . I constantly keep my hand on the butt of my revolver.—*Day*, New York City, March 10, 1917.

. . . The emancipated Jew (in Russia) . . . will acquire this or that industry, will perhaps monopolize partly or entirely the stage, press, etc. . . . He will do these things because he is more active, capable, somewhat more intelligent than his

non-Jewish neighbor. . . . In the beginning his activities will be tolerated but the Russian people, now free, will rapidly grow and progress and find the Jew in his way. . . . But, until then, you Socialists, Zionists, and assimilators say everything will be arranged to suit everybody? . . . Perhaps! . . . But Russianization or Americanization is merely an outward change. . . . *A Jew remains a Jew, and assimilation does not help during times of stress.* . . .—Jewish Daily *Forward*, New York City, April 23, 1917.

It is a well-known fact that many American concerns refuse to employ Jews. The following incident will corroborate it. The Ætna Insurance Company, 100 William Street, New York City, was obliged to hire temporarily about one hundred "payroll auditors." Among the applicants were several Jews. It was amazing to witness the disgraceful treatment accorded one of these. The gentleman in the office did not as much as ask him about his ability or desire, but ridiculed and poked fun at him like a vaudeville actor. . . . Needless to add, not one of the Jewish applicants was accepted. . . . I might add that Jewish business men . . . have enriched this firm.—*Day*, New York City, August 27, 1915.

What strikes me best in the entire peace negotiations [1] is Jaffa, the Jewish leader of the Russian peace delegation.

It is to be regretted that we do not know his first name. It must probably be Jacob or Israel. It is becoming that his name should be Israel Jaffa.

And in the hands of Israel Jaffa was intrusted the mission of bringing the world peace. The Gentiles made a world war, *and here comes Israel Jaffa and wants to make a world peace.*

There are 170,000,000 Gentiles in Russia, and Israel Jaffa wants to make peace for them.—Jewish Daily *Forward*, New York City, January 3, 1918.

CONFLICTS

The Jews dislike war. They are sensitive and introspective. They see very clearly its horror and also its

[1] Negotiations between Russia and the Central Powers.

inconsistencies. The contentions they really enjoy are those of peace. On every question there are many factions, and their public disputes are long and bitter.

The Jew in War

Pershing reports:

So many and so many dead; so many wounded; so many taken prisoners; so many lost.

So reports Pershing.

Short and sharp reports. Short as a military order and sharp as a knife. Cut off sentences. Short names with an addition, private or military title.

So Pershing reports.

And you run through the names of the dead, wounded, prisoners, and lost; and you endeavor to visualize how this list of names is received by the mothers, fathers, brides, sisters, brothers, and sweethearts.

Mothers may die from fear, and they shudder to look over the list of names. They fear to run across the endeared name.

Fathers take the papers with a camouflaged indifference, spend quite a while over that corner of the paper with the names, and then they hasten to glance over the paper.

Sisters are somewhat more quiet, yet sufficiently moved. Brothers await, perhaps, with pride, that a hero might be one of their family—let it be a dead hero—so long as a hero . . . the young, manly blood!

The most cold-blooded, perhaps, are the brides, the sweethearts, and the girls in general.

If they are young and beautiful, they are light-hearted, and take it little to heart; if not this boy—it is another. And the war is so beautiful—on account of the soldiers' uniforms. And in the uniform they now see before them "new boys!" That is the case with young and beautiful girls.

And the older and homelier girls weep over the paper with the introduction "Pershing reports," perhaps not so much for the fallen hero as their misfortune. The name of a sweetheart in the paper means for them new search, new worry, new exertion to get a fellow!

Pershing reports—about our fallen "boys."

And the mother notices the name of her "boy," and the light of the world becomes extinguished for her.

And the father feels as though something dull and heavy cut into his heart and caused it to cease.

And the sister gets an animal-like worry of death.

And the brother feels pride and pain intermingled, and his fists become clenched, and he wreaks vengeance.

And the warm-loving "girl," it may be, feels an entirely different fear. She reminds herself, perhaps, of the once given kisses, and the embracing of her fallen sweetheart; and to her it now seems that she feels upon herself cold, dead lips; and she imagines that dead hands embrace the warm body, and that death alone with its cracking bones draws itself to her and says, "You are mine."

Pershing reports:

And I read the names on Pershing's paper, and try to conceive what kind of "boys" they had been; how they had lived, what they had hoped; what kind of hidden power there lived within them; what kind of geniuses we have lost in them.

Pershing reports:

Short, sharp report. Brief as a severe command, sharp as a knife. . . .—*Day*, New York City, March 20, 1918.

Humor, by Z. Libin

War! The United States Attorney-General of free America has decreed: "Keep your mouth shut." And America shut up. Everybody shut up. . . . In the grocery store, where so much cursing was prevalent over the high prices, there is absolute quiet. They pay what is asked, swallow the pain, and keep silent. . . . My gay neighbors are silent, so is our janitor; if she must curse, she whips her poor children instead . . . but she does not speak—is afraid. . . . My poor wife —not a word does she utter! . . . Stands by the washtub and sighs and moans. . . . Heretofore she would wash and talk, talk and wash. . . . "The walls have ears," says she. . . . And my poor little children are quiet. . . . During her leisure my

daughter, Dora, a Socialist, used to speak against the war. . . . Now she is silent. . . . My blond little ten-year-old Julick used to bring home all the street news, and his voice was so childishly joyful. . . . Now he is quiet. This is partly due to the fact that no one in the street speaks. Then, he is afraid to tell anything—he knows the "keep-quiet" law. Even my woman neighbor's baby, which used to cry all night, is now quiet. . . . No doctor was able to quieten it, but Washington did it. . . . The rheumatic man from the top floor who cannot suppress his pains . . . shouts (he must shout for pain), "Hurrah for the War." . . . The landlord raised our rent knowing we would not dare protest. The grocer overcharges, so does the butcher, milkman, baker . . . for it is seditious to say anything. . . .—Jewish Daily *Forward*, New York City, April 14, 1917.

The Jew in Peace

Ninety-nine per cent of all the Jews in America believe that everything in America is bluff. . . . Particularly do they think so of their leaders and movements.

We have developed a sort of world-aspect; any aspiration, activity, movement . . . must have . . . a suspicious motive. The greater part of our people are positive that if anyone is successful it is because he is a swindler and demagogue. . . . They know in advance that every success must have a dishonest origin. They do not believe in anybody's honesty and purity. . . . But few men and institutions have escaped the general shower of derision. . . .—*Day*, New York City, September 13, 1915.

Worthy Comrade Editor: Permit me, through the *Naye Welt*, to express my opinion in regard to the labor congress:

I think that never was a labor congress so urgent as now, not because the administration of the Zionist congress offended the labor committee—this would be rather trifling, but now we can see and feel what others have long realized: that even in such matters as Jewish rights—national and cultural rights in the countries where we have them not—the workmen, the

real champions of freedom and justice, cannot go hand in hand with the bourgeoise Zionists of all shades. Unfortunately, there still were sentimental people in our ranks who believed that where the issue was concerned with such great things as demanding rights for Jews, the bourgeoise Zoinists will not play Zionist politics and make the congress really general; but these sentimental people have realized now that which others have long realized.

The Jewish labor congress will be quite different. Entire Jewish labor will speak in other words, and the words will sound different; the labor congress will not request, but demand, and it will come out courageously against the injustices committed against the Jews, also raise a mighty protest against the new rulers, the Poles, for the pogroms they made in a number of cities; and this will be a protest of an organized force which cannot be ignored. We may say that our demands will be supported by the Socialist organizations on the other side, and we may be sure that the labor parties in Europe will not speak Gompers' language. But I should like that the National Workmen's Committee which organizes the labor congress to get in touch with the Bund in Russia, and also in Galicia. If possible, let a Jewish labor congress be called from America and Europe; but perhaps this is impossible for technical reasons.

But in the Jewish labor congress there must be no room for the Paole Zion, or the National Socialists, as they call themselves. *We must not receive them if they come to us, because they are leaders without masses.* Now they will be with one element and to-morrow with the opposite element. With these people the participation in such movements is only for the purpose of getting some influence with the Jewish workmen who, until now, disregarded them, and secondly, a means to raise more funds. Until now they had a collection every week; one Sunday for Palestine, next for the national fund; every week a different thing; but all for the same bag of Zionism. Now, if they should be represented in the Jewish labor congress, they will enlarge the bag and make it a large sack, and take up collections twice a week or perhaps every day in the year. They call themselves Zionist Socialists, or

National Socialists, but in reality they are far from Socialism, for at every opportunity they seek to defeat Socialism. The best example will be the New York Election Day in the Twelfth Congressional District, where they joined hands with Tammany against the Socialist congressman, Meyer London. The Jewish organized labor, which has always supported Socialist campaigns, when it will organize as a labor congress, must not go hand in hand with opponents of labor, for the above-mentioned people, who consider themselves Socialists, are not sincere in their desire for rights for Jews on the other side. With them it is a camouflage to cloak their nakedness. In reality they are Zionists who are only after Palestine in order to have their own ambassadors and officials like in the old Russia. For instance, I know one of them, a short, stout Jew, who tries to become warden of a prison, and woe to those Socialists who will fall into his hands.—*Naye Welt*, New York City, December 20, 1918.

. . . The East Side lacks a public opinion, a cultured class, to show the way; it lacks a united organized body . . . to lead us. That is why we are led by the Yahudim, who do not know us, who do not understand us. That is also why a president of one of our federations has proven to be an uneducated man, who disgraced us when speaking publicly in the English language; that is why demagoguery and irresponsibility are prevalent in our parties; why our theatrical managers do not feel the slightest respect for the Jewish writer and critic. . . . We have bad taste in public life.—*Day*, New York City, October 14, 1917.

LIFE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE

Life on the lower East Side is full of color and action, all of which is reflected in the Yiddish press. The Jew is keen enough to see his own inconsistencies and the peculiarities of his character. Their journalists present a critical, yet kindly, mirror to their readers.

The prejudice of some against the East Siders lies in the fact that they are ignorant of their life and aspirations. . . . *It is . . . the most cultured district in the whole city, the liveliest and most sensitive center of the greatest American city.* Every new reporter, every new artist with a new tendency, must come to the East Side for recognition, and usually gets it. Commissioner Howe makes his more radical addresses on the East Side; Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission first published his program on the East Side, and then it became known all over the country; the famous classic dancer, Isadora Duncan, was glad to get away from wearisome Broadway, and came to look for inspiration on the poor East Side; these are only instances of the past few months. . . . The East Side is the center of lectures, debates, musical and literary events, etc. From the East Side libraries the greatest number of serious books are being circulated, and its theaters now play Ibsen and Hauptmann . . . while Broadway produces acts of trained dogs and horses to amuse its public. . . .—*Day*, New York, July 8, 1915.

Business

Ten rules for business:

Business has become a science, and as the East Side is generally very scientific, it is only natural that business science should reach its maximum there. The ten rules are: (1) When a Jew is in business, a second Jew must crowd him out and a third must choke them both, like a bone in the throat, while a fourth must elbow the three others, etc. (2) Competition is the main thing in business, and can be carried on in several ways; by engaging "pullers" who must pull a prospective customer into so many pieces as there are stores in the block. In the case of butchers, each may throw a cartload of dead dogs into the other's store, or point out how many hogs they are selling with the kosher label on them. A grocer may compete with his opponent by sending out rumors of the latter's abduction of a negro woman; and

as regards a candy store, competition demands that for each cent of candy sold a toy worth a dollar should be given to the customer, or a ticket to the movies, or a baby carriage. (3) The main thing in business is the art of conduct with a customer. He must first of all be dragged in forcefully. When he is inside he must be made to purchase things he does not need. If he refuses to buy, he should be insulted, and escorted for a block with your curses. (4) You must know just what and how to sell. A pair of shoes must be sold to a customer three sizes larger or smaller than he wears; a suit of clothes must hang like a bag or squeeze the breath out of the wearer. . . . (5) Money plays no part in business. Customers are the things, and these may best be secured by selling them goods, charge them up to them, and never collect . . . for fear they may give their patronage to your competitor. The result? Simple—you'll have the greatest number of customers, the least amount of goods, plenty of debts, and then—you'll have to close up and go to work (6) You must overlook a customer's hiding in her apron a herring, dress, etc., for women dislike to hear evil spoken about customers. (7) Customers must be made to feel at home; the store must be kept unclean, crumbs of your meals must be left on the counter, a baby must be walking under their feet, and the owner's wife must fill the place with the golden tones of her oaths upon her husband and children. (8) You must be quite familiar with customers so that you therefore greet them in your undershirt, dirty hands, and eating bread and herring. Pat them on the back and tell them some vulgar jokes and treat the women to some suggestive remarks. . . . (9) Bargaining is very essential in business. . . . You must ask a tenfold price and swear on your wife and children that it's the bottom price. If the customer refuses to buy, let him go as far as the door, and pull him back . . . you reduce your price . . . you pull him back from the street and further reduce. . . . (10) A business man should never rest. . . . He must be busy day and night, and all holidays, because he is free to do as he likes, you know; is his

own boss. That's why he left the shop to become a free man. . . .—"Ego," in the *Day*, New York City, July 12, 1915.

Laziness

Man to man: The other day I went to a concert, and instead of listening to the music I studied the program. . . . All future artists to give concerts bore Jewish names. . . . Why, I asked myself, do the Jews produce so many geniuses? Is it not because (this I whispered so that the *nationalist* within *me* may not overhear my thought) the Jew is habitually too lazy to do hard work? Because he is habitually clever and knows that to tickle a violin is easier than doing something else? Is it not because it is more sanitary to be a genius than build bridges? Because to be gifted by God is more profitable than milking cows? These were my thoughts, silent, pianissimo, as I sat through a concert by a young virtuoso. . . .—*Day*, New York City.

The Intelligentsia

. . . And the Jewish intellectual went forth into the world and beheld: Round and round were might, power, pride, splendor. Everywhere was light and life. And this beautiful, rich life drew him toward it—as fire draws the moth—and he burned himself. And when he returned to his people he felt humiliated and offended. And he felt this still more as he found himself in his home.—A. Wohliner, in the *Day*, New York City, September 3, 1915.

How good it is for you, how well it is for you, average person!

Your heart is like a rock, your head is marble.

No wind can beat you and no storm can shake you.

You travel in your usual direct path, no matter what the great heading in your newspaper should be. Whether a dead girl was found packed in a barrel, or whether a world revolution howls from pole to pole—it's all the same; your tastes, your hopes, are always the same.

You know how much sugar you need for your coffee, how many dollars for your wife, how many dances and jokes in your show.

You know that no matter what happened, no matter who rules, you will remain the real boss, the foundation of life, the guarantee of order.

Let all the storms become one great storm; let all the cries of woe and all blood struggles flow into one gigantic, howling death-cry of the world—you will just the same buy up on Saturday evening all the joyous shows, you will just the same have calculated just how much more you will have to pay on your endowment policy; you will still quarrel with your wife about a new dress.

You are greater than everything, above everything, stronger than everything, more Godlike than everything, you rock and marble, you—average person!

The not average person!

You are ludicrous and should be put under observation, not average person!

You are like a little blade of grass in a storm, like a spark in a windy fire.

You hobble like a drunkard and grow like a baby with each new day, with every new breath of life.

You are not trustworthy like the Indian in the past, and not decided like a woman.

All the storms of the world leave their mark in your heart and the branches of all the uprooted trees bore through your life and being.

You eat and drink and sleep and love your wife like in a dream—without firmness, without seriousness. In your cloudy tea you see the mud of the world; in the smile of love of your wife—only limited ignorance. . . .

Lights flame up and go out in your heart a thousand in a minute, and a draught blows on all sides.

You want to guess in what land will occur the next revolution, and cannot guess how you will pay your rent.

You are ready to suffer in pain for the entire world, and your own trousers have not been pressed for three weeks!

Unlucky, not average person!—B. VLADEK, in the *Naye Welt*, New York City, November 14, 1918.

Begging

. . . The greatest swindlers are those who, on pretense of old friendship, extract money from you. . . . It was a bitterly cold night . . . as I was confronted with a shabby-looking man, thin, unshaven, and trembling from head to foot. Says he, "Recognize me?" "No!" "Why, I am Yossel, who went to school with you at home. . . . I used to spend many days at your house," and he shakes my hand. . . . "What can I do for you?" says I. "You must save me. . . . I knew your father . . . he was an angel" . . . and he starts to cry. "Why are you crying?" "I knew your mother; she was goodness itself." . . . "Stop your crying and blowing your nose. What do you want?" "I knew your whole family," he begins anew. He also enumerates where each of my relatives lives . . . and I expect to be touched for at least one hundred dollars. He concludes: "I ask no charity. I merely want a loan, that's all. Lend me a quarter."—*Day*, New York City.

Free Love and Marriage

Because he was too lazy to go to preparatory school to gather "counts" like his older brother, and his mother made his life miserable—he read Yiddish papers and was an anarchist. And because he was an anarchist, he wanted to like music, and he let his hair grow until it was big enough for both an anarchist and a violin virtuoso. Bertha felt he was the right man for her, so she no longer looked with disfavor upon Yiddish papers, ceased buying the *Times* every morning, and donned an anarchist blouse with a black tie. When his mother saw their intimate relations she discharged the girl from the shop. If they had no serious intentions until then, this action served to bring them closer together, and they went to live in a free union. . . .—F. STICK, in the *Day*, New York City, January 14, 1917.

In the first place I must acquaint you with the circumstances under which I caught the customer [his wife] or she

caught me. It will take up much room, but it is interesting.

We became acquainted, not through a *Shadchen* [marriage broker], as is customary in America, or at a showering fountain bathed in the sun's golden rays; not in a theater box, as is the rule among the aristocrats.

By a garbage hill, between her parents' and my parents' house, we became acquainted. I had won her heart by a chivalrous deed. She introduced herself as Nami, and led me to their orchard, where all kinds of fruits and berries grew. Thanks to this orchard, she won my heart. I soon became familiar with the orchard, and if her father would chase me out, my chivalrous pride was not offended and I would come again. I was then a chap up in years—the fifth year, and had already studied in *Chedar* [religious school]. And Nami was six weeks younger than myself.

I did not at that time think of a *Shiduch* [betrothal]. This suggestion had been made by her mother. That happened on Passover Eve, after the cremation of *Chometz* [burning of what should not be eaten on Passover, leavened bread]; they mated us to go to the stream and together wash the utensils for Passover. It was while doing that that her mother stumbled upon the plan that as we are both the same stature, same age, we would make an excellent couple.

And so we used to be together from Passover Eve until after *Sukos* [holiday]. The *Sukoh* [booth, tabernacle] was built by both her father and mine.

Nami was about to be chased out of the *Sukoh*, and she pointed at me and wanted to know why I was sitting inside, and added that she was just as much *mensch* [a person] as I was. I defended her, and my father also put in a good word for her, and she remained in the *Sukoh*. We more than once ate out of the same plate.

During the winter I would forget the existence of Nami, who lives across from our house. She used to peep into our house and ask me why I do not come to see her, and I replied, truthfully, "No berries are growing in the winter, so why should I come?" Our "love" lasted until our eleventh year.

Every love story has its villains, snakes, blizzards. . . .

Meyerke, my *Chedar* chum, who is a distant neighbor, found out that I am in favor with Nami, so he came and demanded that she give him, too, something from the orchard.

She told him to go to Hades and stay there a long time. Meyerke told the story to the *Chedar* teacher and to the *Chedar* chums—that I am playing with a girl. To play with a girl was considered even more harmful for study than eating brains or cheese, and so my nickname became "Nami." This shame-name was very embarrassing and disgraceful to me.

But the chief villain was my teacher. One Saturday afternoon we—all the *Chedar* boys—played around; played soldiers, climbed trees, until I suddenly remembered that after his nap the teacher would examine me. As my face was red from perspiration I went into Nami's front yard and sat on a log under a shady tree to cool down.

Nami brought me some cherries, and herself stuffed my pocket so that it would be unnoticeable. My mother came to look for me: "The teacher is here." Her arrival disturbed me greatly, for she more than once told me that for a boy who already studied with Shloime, it is improper to chum with a girl. And another reason for my uneasiness was that I was not yet cooled down. I was sure to get it from my father if he saw me in such a condition, for my face was still red. I followed my mother like one sentenced to death, and my face began to burn still more.

The *rabbeh* [teacher] and my father were sitting over a glass of tea and a dish of cherries. The *rabbeh* was telling my father of his trouble with his wife. When my father perceived my reddened face I at once felt that to-day's examination would bring me no good results. Well, I read the *Shier* [measure in the Gemorrhe] apprehensively, and did not know what I said. It was a smooth *Shier*, though, and I rattled it off machine-like; but at the end I stumbled upon a buck that broke a barrel and I had to judge whether the owner of the buck was obliged to pay for the barrel. I became confused. My father hastily closed the Gemorrhe, and pushed me away from the table, saying: "Away from here, you *Bad-Yung* [bad boy] of the Gemorrhe! Why does such a loafer come to a Gemorrhe? He needs a toy horse, not a Gemorrhe!

I will make a shoemaker out of him; a tailor; a cotton maker!"

"He was in Nami's front yard," my mother adds spice; and empties my pocket of the cherries and puts them on the table. "I, myself, saw Nami put the cherries into his pocket, so true may I see him in comfort and joy."

"Yes," says the *rabbeh*, "the *Chedar* boys told me that as soon as he gets through in *Chedar* he immediately rushes over to Nami, who lives around here. For this I am not to blame. I am not responsible for whatever happens out of *Chedar*, and cannot prevent it."

My mother takes out a full bowl of cherries from behind the stove, and addresses the *rabbeh:* "Do you think, Mr. Shloime, that I keep these from him, that I keep things under lock and cover like other mothers? I used to give him plenty of berries and other fruits, but Nami's are more appetizing. He sometimes waits a whole hour behind her wall just to receive her cherries." And my mother broke into tears. The *rabbeh* says that one must not cry on Saturday. My father approaches me angrily—I am standing in a corner, covering my face with my hands—and my mother steps in between father and myself, ready to defend me. The *rabbeh* interceded in behalf of peace. I promised them all never again to see Nami, and my sin was forgiven.

After Saturday I went to Nami to inform her of our judgment—that we were to sever all our relations hereafter. As I began to relate my woes to her, as if from beneath the ground, the full figure of the *rabbeh* appears, scratching his throat with one finger—as was his custom summer and winter. He spoke nothing. He somehow extracted his finger from under his throat and began to slap me.

"Do not hit him!" Springs up Nami and attempts to grasp his loam-colored beard, but she cannot reach it. Nami steps aside, picks up a stone, and hits the *rabbeh* in his side. He . . . runs after her, but she is far, far away from him. He went inside her house and told her parents, and the result was that Nami was punished upon that upon which the world is sitting.

From that day I did not see Nami until she came into our

Sukoh. And there she stood with lowered eyes and looked at no one. As she went out she raised her cherry-black, tearful eyes to me, her upper lip twisted ready to cry . . . which carried a bitter reproach for me: "All your fault!" I felt my heart ripping, and with difficulty I kept my own tears back.

Some time later she used to come into our house to show my father her writing, for she was being taught that. But we two became estranged and she ceased to interest me.

For my *Bar-Mitzwoh* [Confirmation at the age of thirteen], she sewed a *Mogen-David* [insignia of King David] upon my phylacteries bag, with her and my name under the lining. This I found out only four years later.

One year after my confirmation, Nami declared her love for me in writing. She already read love stories and I did not. I did not know the meaning of a love story; I was ignorant, fanatic, and a fondling, a mother's ornament!

The feeling of love was unknown to me and you will therefore not be surprised that I did not understand her note. At last she proposed to me personally. She kissed me—I was angry. It was such a burning, damp kiss! I wiped my cheek with my sleeve, and angrily exclaimed: "What right have you to kiss me? You are not my mother!"

After the unsuccessful kiss I did not see Nami for a long time. She used to come to us when I was not around.

About a quarter of a year later I began to comprehend the meaning of her kiss, and half a year later I was more read than she. I had read the best Hebrew books and magazines. When I read *Ahavas Zion* I already felt that Nami was close to my heart. But where does . . . that fiction compare with my own Nami! I want to see her, reconcile her, but can find no opportunity. She always comes when I am in the synagogue, and very rarely. Once she happened to come when I was in the house, but she noticed me as much as she did the cat. Oh, how beautiful she was! I am tortured by pangs of remorse. Besides, I must watch out for my mother, who repeatedly teaches me how to behave like a superior person, not to talk to everybody that comes along, how to say *Sholom Aleichem* [How do you do?] to a strange Jew, and shun girls like a plague; I might get a bad name!

And deep in my heart I felt a terrible burning!

After reading the first two Jewish love stories so as to "break in" writing a letter, I gathered courage, and wrote Nami a long letter . . . I wrote her the entire truth: I was a fool and did not understand; now I am clever, and understand everything like an adult. "So please, Nami dear, forgive me. For your unsuccessful kiss I can give you perhaps twenty in return. Think of our happy childhood days! The happy summers we used to spend together! The swing in your front yard; how we used to go picking berries in the woods on *Tishe-Bar* [holiday], rinse the new utensils for Passover, sit in the *Sukoh* and eat out of one dish." And such other recollections.

It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in delivering my letter. But I immediately received a reply. Her short note said: "My former friend, what right have you to kiss me? Are you my mother? NAMI."

In America, unlike Warsaw, our condition improved more and more. Then a slight change for the worse occurred, but we managed to live as economically as the average workmen. Our children are beautiful, accomplished, and very intelligent. I need not worry over them. Even my youngest is nearly self-supporting.

And now in my old age comes the saddest part! My Nami's uncle passed away. Since we have been in America (nearly twenty-three years), we have seen him twice. He was an uncle like all other uncles but for a hump on his back. He was a God-fearing man and he was given a respectable funeral.

After that my wife asked me to buy her a couple of *Mezuzahs* [doorpost parchment]. Thinking that she undoubtedly means something else, I repeat her question: "*Mezuzahs?* I have two very beautiful and lovely *Mezuzahs*." She becomes anxious, and I point out her two beautiful cheeks, and at the same time treat them as such [Mezuzahs are kisses by the religious].

But she replies that she meant real *Mezuzahs*.

Well, my wife claims that she sees her uncle in her dreams, and he asks her to repent. I gaze into her cherry-black eyes

and say nothing. She says that with the advent of age a person's ideas change. So I asked her to send her uncle to me if he came to her again, since he had not far to go. But the uncle is cleverer than pious and he does not even visit her now. She has bought *Mezuzahs* herself. Evidently these have driven him off.

But he need not return again, for she is constantly in penitence. She has a whole library of prayer books. And so my dear Nami became changed in her old age. Since her uncle's departure she has become gloomy and dreamy. Sometimes she sheds tears like pearls over the "Works."

Is this the same Nami who once said, "If there ever was a God, he must have been accursed by the wronged ones long ago"?

To-day she tells me that her uncle was right twenty-three years ago and that God will punish me for leaving a good position and seeking a better one.

We have everything we need. The only thing I desire is to get my Nami's cheerful disposition back again—and her good humor. Unfortunately she has become estranged from these qualities—and at such a time in our lives! When we have reached the best years of our lives—middle age!

She still possesses the same black hair, small forehead without the slightest wrinkle, and in her cherry-black eyes there still burns an eternal fire, one wink of which is enough to make one feel thirty years younger.

If I could only have a conversation with her God! I would tell him the story that the prophet Nathan told King David —the story of the sheep: "You, God, have tens of millions of 'servant girls,' whereas I have only one little sheep who has been brought up together with me, and who has followed me since childhood; she is my only hope in life; I take care of her as of my eyes, share my food with her, protect her by day and by night, and you take her away from me and make her for your servant girl! I am worse off than Uriah Hachity, for he was shot dead and was relieved of his suffering; but I live and must see how my little sheep . . . makes love to you."

But how can I argue with Him if He sits upstairs on the eighth heaven and smiles behind His divine mustache!

Al Taschicheinn Leis Ziknuh [Do not forsake me in my old age], brave comrade! Back in our childhood you have kindled in my heart the inextinguishable, divine love-flames; let us further stick together, body and soul. I know your intentions are good—you wish to do me a favor and secure me a little "pull" over there, but until that time comes I would rather see your beautiful dimples in your cheeks . . . than see tears upon them, even tears of such a nature! . . . As we have stuck together since childhood, even so let us further stick together, body and spirit, until our real old age. Then we will pray, not to your God, who is being made a business of—like the gypsy and the bear—but to our old God, who mated us and helped us overcome the obstacles in our lives; to Him we will pray, "Oh, do not separate us, O God, even after our old age!"—Ish Nami.

N. B.—Have you anything to say about that? Go ahead, but be careful, for you may lose my Nami as a reader.—Ish Nami.

It would not be amiss to assure some readers that this is no fiction . . . but the real life of the writer. The attentive ones will recognize it by its original humor. The best remedy for Nami is his own letter, and our wish is that his pathetic appeal to her now, in their second youth, shall convert her just as his notes in past years had converted her.—"Bintelbrief," in Jewish Daily *Forward*, New York City.

East Side Radicals in New England and Russia

For the past ten years in Lawrence, Massachusetts, so-called radical organizations have been getting busy every winter. They issue calls to the youth to awake, that "the time has come" to do some work, and the dear youth quietly play poker or pinochle. If ever they do come together for some work they soon split and start new organizations to "spread light," to "educate ourselves and others." This spreading of light usually ends in an entertainment. . . . So it goes on winter after winter, leaving more organizations . . . who do nothing. Rival factions peddle with radicalism, but nothing is accomplished. . . . A Paole Zion branch was

organized, also a dramatic club, though the Hebrew Independent Library is about to be strangled by "good friends." That is the sum total of this writer's activity there. . . .—*Day*, New York City, March 10, 1917.

Every one of the immigrants hoped to make himself useful. Every one of them thought that the American labor movements enlightened him enough to make himself useful. But it has proved that the Russian revolution has leaped over so many barriers that it is impossible to follow it up. For instance, of what value are experiences gained on the extreme left wing of the Jewish-American labor movement with its idealism, which the immigrant approved of and suffered for, since the workers here have progressed so far and gained control of the factories, and the employer and his foreman are taken on a wheelbarrow and dumped into the pond? I met people from different branches and some from the Amalgamated. I have also met people from the left wing of the waist makers and other trades, and some "daring" I. W. W.'s, who thought that they were carrying with them a spring of a new doctrine, but it all proved to be only old talk.

I met quite a number who used to be prominent in our street, who were not backseaters, but a whole wheel in the Red machine, men who were not permitted to leave without a few banquets, and they are now walking around here with drooping heads and as black as the earth. . . .

There are a great many of them—they have adapted themselves well, and particularly those who have the necessary amount of nerve and a big mouth. I could give you a whole list of cities and countrysides which are led by the nose by the immigrants. I myself have seen how immigrants, whom we might call shipbrothers, "took" away whole battalions of soldiers and the whole working force of factories from the "enemy's" party with just a few strong phrases, and then did with them as they pleased. The immigrants are pouring tar and sulphur on the land from which they came, and make an impression on the people by cursing the American capitalists. Morgan and Rockefeller have a distinct reputation among the masses, thanks to the immigrants. You often come across Russian workers or soldiers who clearly pro-

nounce the word "politishen" with the same detestation as their immigrant teachers.

It is unnecessary to say that the immigrants here are contented. As one of them told me whom I had met in Chicago, where he always took a hand in every debate at the union meetings. Here he is the leader of his party in a small town, and was a delegate to the initial meeting of the Jewish assembly:

"How can Russia even be compared with America? Take me, for example. Over there I used to be a shop worker, had hardly time to attend a meeting, and everybody looked down on me. Here I am a somebody. I am again what I used to be before I went to America, as you can see for yourself."

That is, we might say, sensible. Economically, almost all the immigrants adapted themselves. The intelligent Russian middle class was removed directly after the revolution, and the more the intelligent class was put aside the more the revolution "deepened." Anyone who can handle a pen and is capable of adding two and two soon finds himself. Those who have a trade were made presidents, committeemen, and what not; it is natural that here where the people starve they must starve with them, but comparatively they are not badly off, and a lot of Russians would like to be in their shoes.

But do not believe that they are all particularly happy.

The damned capitalists of the country they came from at least gave something which this uncertain life does not offer. To see the wives and children of the immigrants is heartrending, and the thought arises: Is it the fault of these innocent little ones that Russia wanted a revolution?

In America their standard was ridiculed, and letters nave shown that they are misunderstood.

Here they miss the few rooms; small, perhaps, but light, and with plenty of air. They miss Bronx Park, Central Park, Seward Park, and Brownsville. They miss the running hot and cold water, the bathtub, the dumbwaiter on which the groceryman used to send up the milk and rolls on credit. They miss the ice-cream parlor and the nickel show, and

also the clotheslines. And they cannot forget the gas, over which only was needed a match and things were done—a glass of tea and a whole supper was ready before they even finished their chat with the next-door neighbor.

The comfortable bourgeoise life is missing. Here they stand on the moors for a bit of black bread—for a little milk for the child—which is not always to be had, and as their nerves are weak, they are getting tired of the "fortune." And when they remember their mistake, their faces are no longer hidden in their dirty aprons when the tears roll down their cheeks.

There is revolution in Russia, and also civil war; and before anyone decides to come here let him remember that old Jewish saying, "He who is afraid, he who has built himself a house, and he who has married a wife should remain in his tent."—*Day*, New York City, March 3, 1918.

Atmosphere

. . . In 141 Division Street . . . "Sholem's restaurant" . . . you will find the creators of the Jewish press. You will always find them there, day or night. New worlds are being created and destroyed there. Newspapers founded, and their policies shaped, and editors appointed. At the table sits a man whom nobody can tolerate, and yet were he to miss one day the incompleteness of the gathering would be felt. . . . They argue among themselves, insult each other, and not infrequently blows are exchanged. Most of the quarrels are not of personal origin, but are the result of clashes on ideas and forms of propaganda. Not a single world-problem escapes their discussion. This place is a center of Jewish thought . . . they often chip in dimes and quarters and make a feast with wine . . . those who do not contribute also get a drink. . . .—R. Wortman, in the *Day*, New York City, March 11, 1917.

. . . I went to the English theater. The play is passable, but the theater! It is not like our Jewish theater. First of all I found it so quiet there . . . that I could not hear a sound! There were no cries of "Sha!" "Shut up!" or "Order!" and no babies cried—as if it were no theater at all! . . .

And then, there is a total lack of apples, candy, or soda, just like in a desert.

There are some Gentile girls who go around among the audience handing out glasses of water, but this I can get at home, too. . . .—*Day*, New York City, November 11, 1915.

Sophistication

The First Murder and Adam's Children

Life was quiet and weary after Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden. The newspapers were pale as an editorial and stale as a *Kundes* joke, and wearisome as a yawn. No sensations, murders, scandals, divorces—nothing. . . . When the people tired of fighting among themselves as sisters and brothers . . . they married, and for a change quarreled as man and wife. The gangs were as yet unknown, so that an enemy could not be eliminated for a few dollars and no one would venture to commit murder himself; besides, there were too little "police protection" at that time. . . . So the reporters anxiously waited for the first murder to bring life and circulation. At last it came! Full of thrills, love, jealousy, and prominent heroes. Cain had slain Abel. . . . As Cain had no money for a lawyer who would have sent him to the gallows, he managed to escape punishment. . . . One of his descendants . . . invented the harp and pipe, and since that day every Jewish home became a musical place. All Jewish children now play—violin, piano, 'cello, cornet, phonograph, and pianola. . . . Another descendant invented the art of forging iron and copper, and his great-grandchildren have worked themselves up in America. Carnegie has assumed control of the steel trust, and in his old age began to build libraries and advocate universal peace; Guggenheim has grabbed the copper industry; he does not, however, give any charity, for *he* does not like the Jews and the Gentiles do not like *him*.—*Day*, New York City.

The Deluge and Noah's Ark

Humanity had multiplied. . . . There were no amusements, no birth-control propaganda, Mormons were admitted to

America—so our population kept increasing. . . . And they sinned . . . and they went so far as to sell pork with a kosher stamp on it; cattle slaughterers joined the United Hebrew Trades, and when a rabbi was caught who was able to read he was placed in a museum. . . . And God decided to bring a deluge. . . . Noah, being hasty in his collection of couples, made a peculiar job! So, for instance, he mated the devil with the evil mother-in-law, the lie with the newspaper, the Jewish poet with poverty, Jewish knowledge with hard luck, Jewish wisdom with idling, etc. . . . For forty days and forty nights it poured as if from a Broome Street fire escape. . . . The cost of umbrellas went up . . . protest meetings were organized, a boycott, a threat of revolution was made, the government staged a series of investigations, but the end was a sad one—humanity was drowned. . . . God repented, even if a little too late; the earth dried up and the Ark became firmly attached to it, just like an American submarine built on the "efficiency" basis. Such a type of submarine, as you know, has a tendency to remain on the ground, or it sinks to the bottom of the river and stays there. Well, as the world was as barren as an isolated Brownsville lot after the "boom," God blessed Noah to multiply. . . . As proof that He will never again bring a deluge, God gave us the rainbow . . . which brings comfort to the poor Jews suffering from patented umbrellas which never open during a rain and refuse to close when the sun shines again. . . .—*Day*, New York City.

The present relief tag-days for war sufferers have brought little results. People were too lazy to put their hands into their pockets because it was raining . . . and on the whole our fowl-eating, wine-drinking, theater-going public became indifferent to the great world-strike; no more tears are aroused by the descriptions of terrible misfortunes . . . no more poetry by weeping poets at fifteen cents per line . . . it has become banal, uninteresting. . . . Because we are men. . . . If we had a daily world-extinction we would not even notice it, because, of what significance is a theoretical world-wreck as compared to the pinch of your own shoe? a theo-

retical earthquake to the cross look of your girl? the greatest national disaster to your little cough? The greatest tragedies no longer fascinate or excite us. . . . Let us have new world-catastrophes, ruins de luxe bound in silk, fresh tragedies . . . for we are weary and need . . . something new.—*Day*, New York City.

VIII

THE COSMOPOLITAN PRESS AND THE WAR

For a long time after the war began, in 1914, the cosmopolitan press was more concerned about it than was the American press. The war awakened old European antagonisms, part of the heritage of the immigrant peoples which the Americans did not share. Moreover, it meant to many immigrant peoples, to the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Slovenes, Lithuanians, Letts, Syrians, Albanians, and Armenians, the possible realization of their national hopes. Interest in the future of the home country was so ardent that many people wished either to be identified with it here or to return.

Germany and Austria-Hungary tried to control the sentiments and conduct of their American emigrants, and even resorted to threats. In most cases, however, the attempt to enforce loyalty upon disloyal or lukewarm nationals in this country was not successful. Even those German editors who, before America entered the war, put themselves unreservedly at the service of the German propaganda, resented being treated as mere "colonials," and occasionally protested against the lack of intelligence in regard to American public opinion displayed by the papers in Germany.

It is really time for the press of Germany to consider American conditions with greater intelligence. The relation of citizens of German descent in the United States, especially, seems still to be regarded on the other side in an entirely wrong way! Otherwise, such a sentence as appears in the *Kolnische Zeitung* concerning America and the war could not be written: "Our best allies, now and hitherto, will be

the German-Americans, whose task is to be to explain the true German position to the crassly ignorant in America." This sentence rests on an entirely false conception.[1]

However, it was not only Europe that tried to control the immigrant; the immigrant wanted to control Europe. The Polish National Alliance, with the backing of prominent American-Poles, like the Chicago banker Smulski, picked its own candidate, Paderewski, and sent him to rule Poland. Their experiment was not successful. The press, which was opposed to the Polish National Alliance, criticized sharply this attempt of the American colony to interfere in Poland's affairs. A definition of the peculiar relation of an immigrant colony to the mother country took place gradually during the war.

It was not easy to be the editor of a foreign-language paper in America during the World War and afterward. The excitements of the war brought to the surface old memories and loyalties long neglected or forgotten. It created in many of the immigrant peoples in America a sense of divided loyalty, for which editors were able to find no healing formulas.

All this manifested itself in the instability of editorial policy. It was a fortunate editor who was able to pursue a consistent policy, or one which would satisfy at the same time the demands of his readers and of the governmental censorship. There was a disposition to write to-day to satisfy the larger American public and to-morrow to appeal to the narrower loyalty of the immigrant readers. Sometimes these papers faced both ways in the same issue, saying one thing in English and a different thing in the language of the immigrant.

[1] *Westliche Post* (German), St. Louis. Reprinted from the New York *Herold*.

THE COSMOPOLITAN PRESS AND THE WAR

Stephen Fay, the editor of a Hungarian weekly in Chicago, describes the amazement of the readers of the Hungarian dailies at the sudden front-about of their papers: [1]

Let us cast a glance at the doings of the American Hungarians since the United States declared war on the government of Austria-Hungary. It was as though the throbbing of our people's heart would stop for a moment and then everyone went straight to his daily work as usual. Our leading Hungarian dailies became ardently loyal Americans. They flew into a passion about the Hungarian king, decided this country acted rightly, and said that it is our duty to buy Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps. They gave plenty of free space to the appeals of the government, and wrote favorable comments on them. They joined in calling to life the Hungarian-American Loyalty League, though secretly applauding if there were insurrections against this League, as in Chicago. They did not fail to support the loyalty demonstrations, published their resolutions, and did all this in the same pathetic style as when some newspaper man writes about the usefulness and pleasantness of raising Yorkshire sows; or, when they had some warnings to deliver, they did it with the same enthusiasm with which the American papers warn their readers to arm themselves with umbrellas if the weather man predicts a rainy day. This sudden change was incomprehensible to their readers, the American Hungarians. The wise men of our societies put their heads together and waited, waited patiently for sincere explanations. These explanations never came, and so all joined in the not very complimentary exclamations: "Poor papers, what shall they do, how can they write differently? They are forbidden to. . . ."

The reactions of the cosmopolitan press have been grouped under the general headings: Old Hatreds; The New Nations; The Rush to Europe; Mailed Fist of Austria-Hungary in America; Influencing the Home

[1] *Amerikai Figyelo* (Hungarian), Chicago.

Country; Factions Behind the Solid Front; Editorial Vicissitudes; Americanization: Outside and Inside.

OLD HATREDS

There were always factions inside the immigrant groups, but the war emphasized and exaggerated these factions. Sometimes this interest in the home country seemed not only distracting, but even inimical to the interests of the American people, as the Post Office Department took occasion to point out to Frank Zotti.

. . . I wish to call your attention to the fact that the discussion by foreign-language newspapers of the factional differences in their own nationalities with respect to war incidents and policies at home and abroad has frequently caused international complications toward this government during the present war, and permits are not being granted to publications which indulge in such practices. . . . [1]

And for Ukrainian affairs we do not need either Czech or Serbian chauvinists, as they associated with the Czar officials as he tortured our nation in Ukraine, and as they associated with Polish nobility in Austrian parliament when she tortured our nation in Galicia . . . so we can do without those "Slav patriots" even now, when the revolution opened for the Ukrainian nation the way to freedom.

We do not need association with the (Slav) pharisees, and we do not want anything in common with those chauvinists.

The Ukrainian nation carried on her shoulders the "Slav favor" for five hundred years, so leave her alone, you new-fashioned Slav gentlemen, to forget for a while the Slav "relationship." In the meantime, to the Ukrainians will suffice the Ukrainian relationships.

But no Ukrainian will go to fight for the annexation plans of the Czechs or Serbs.[2]

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[1] W. H. Lamar, Solicitor-General. Letter to the publisher of the *Narodni List*, New York City, December 17, 1917.

[2] *Svoboda* (Ukrainian), Jersey City, August 13, 1918.

Three inches of a knife blade in the back, or a couple of bullets in the chest, should be the best that could be wished to this traitor [the editor of *Il Corriere Tirolese*, supposedly a pro-Austrian paper] . . . . In this case, he who believes in the inviolability of life would approve the deed, saying, "blessed that hand!" [1]

THE NEW NATIONS

Enthusiasm for the new nations created by the war took various forms. Some sent money to help the cause abroad. Others organized in this country to influence public opinion.

Poland is dragging herself out of a faint, a resurrection, into a new, buoyant life. She is regaining her lost honor, and is commanding respect of friend and foe.

Therefore, let us with this New Year follow our brothers in the Fatherland. We shall be worthy of entering the Promised Land when, through our own will and efforts, we will lift ourselves up and destroy evil and corruption.[2]

Dear Mr. Geringer,—With a wet eye I am reading the news about our new Czechoslovak flag, and in my mind I am sending a kiss on our sacred flag.

You all are happy who can take part in the moments of the celebration. We, who are far from those places, feel the same when reading that news and the letters of our brave boys; and always some unknown power stops the breath and heart, and our eyes become wet. We wish that the boys knew that our thoughts are always with them. I do not know if we could find a single Bohemian who would close his heart and hand to the demand which he himself must set, to help with everything that he can.

You rich people, open your pockets and help; help when it is necessary, so that you be not ashamed before yourselves. I am sending my whole week's wages, $5.00, and let $2.00 be

[1] *Follia di New York* (Italian), New York City, January 29, 1918.
[2] *Wici* (Polish), Chicago.

for the National Alliance and $3.00 for our heroes who give their lives for us cheap skates along with their blood. Shame for us who hold the dollar more than life. Hearty regards and *Zdar* [success] to our Czechoslovak people.[1]

On November 1, 1913, a little infant was born among the Hindu residents of America and Canada. It was named *The Gadar*, or the *Hindustan Gadar*. . . .

This little paper is truly the young hopeful, not only of the Hindu Independent of Revolutionary patriots, but of all India. It is not only in India, but the world over, that the *Gadar* assumes a tangible shape, for the *Gadar* simply means the spirit of Liberation. The *Gadar* reaches out its succoring arms to the oppressed and the injured in every corner of the globe, wherever slavery, ignorance, poverty, oppression, or cowardice has secured a footing. . . .

. . . *Yugantar*, the youngest brother of the *Gadar*, born in India, betook itself from there, in order to acquire new knowledge, to far-away countries. The British government tried hard to keep track of it in order to strangle its infant life. But the infant still lived, and, in fact, appeared a sturdy youth just when and where the flames of persecution were raging most fiercely. Greeting and welcome to it.

And now we give to our dear readers another good news; that another tiger-child was born at the *Gadar* party's headquarters. It lisps in the American tongue, and is trying to learn American manners all around, for it has assumed the task of clearing up the misunderstandings regarding India that prevail among the generous and liberty-loving people of the United States. . . . The first issue will appear in October, 1917, and it has been christened *Young India* (Young Hindustan). . . .

. . . A glance at the review of events given above shows that the strength of Germany still weighs heavily, and that the three-quarters of the world that is arrayed against Germany has yet to turn the scales in its favor. Of course, no power can always escape defeat. It was ordained that Ger-

[1] *Baltimorske Listy* (Czechoslovak), Baltimore, August 18, 1918.

many should prove the scourge to bring down a little the pride of the proud British, who always boasted of being the empire on which the sun never sets.[1]

THE RUSH TO EUROPE

Some patriots sought to return to Europe to take actual part in the struggle.

The false passports which these Germans used to mislead the close watch of John Bull were nothing else than passports of honor. It was an energetic inspiration of real men, of true souls. Can a person suffer more dreadfully than to worry, to know, and to feel that all of his kin are bleeding?

All these millions, with whom he feels at one in his desire for the only piece of land, are fighting, and it is only he who trembles many hundreds of miles away. . . . He would run, he would rush, but he cannot. He is not allowed to go because of legal formalities which are cold and apathetic and force him to remain inactive.[2]

Mr. President,—In view of the fact that you, in the most critical moment of the Russian working-class republic, unhesitatingly raised your powerful voice in its support; in view of the fact that you have again in your speech in New York stated your sympathetic intention to stand by the Russian Soviet republic as well as with the French in this trying moment, when powerful interests are willing to offer Russia to the Germans; we, the Russian Red Guard of Chicago, are confident that you will have sympathy with us in Russia's cause and will uphold its freedom against its formidable enemy—German militarism—and will, therefore, let us establish regular communications with the Soviet government in Moscow, and be allowed to recruit volunteers among our people in America, and be given free passage to Russia in order to do our share in freeing the world from the spector

[1] *Hindustani Ghdar* (Hindu), San Francisco, September 30, 1917.
[2] *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian), New York City.

of militarism. An answer will be a great favor to us and the cause we represent.

J. Semeshko, *Chairman*,
I. Gradon, *Secretary*.[1]

Who May Become a Citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic?

Washington, D. C.—The secretary of the Czechoslovak Legation in Washington, D. C., issued the following bulletin: By an agreement entered into with the United States government, the Czechoslovak Legation has been authorized to issue naturalization papers of the Czechoslovak Republic for all Austro-Hungarian subjects of Czechoslovak descent. Therefore, those countrymen who desire to become citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, and as such enjoy the rights and perform the duties of a Czechoslovak citizen, should make an application for a naturalization certificate at the general headquarters of the Slovak League, 524 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, or the Czech National Alliance, 2734 West Twenty-sixth Street, Chicago, Illinois.[2]

MAILED FIST OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY IN AMERICA

The Central powers sought to control their subjects in America, and even those immigrants who had become American citizens. Austria-Hungary was particularly active in warning natives of her revolting dependencies not to take part against her.

The Imperial Embassy, by higher order, notifies all the subjects of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the tributary states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that in case they are employed in factories where ammunitions and arms are made for the enemies of our country, they are violating Section 327 of the Austrian military law, committing a crime against the

[1] *Atbalss* (Lettish), New York City.
[2] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian), Chicago, December 20, 1918.

defense of their native country, which crime, by the abovementioned law, is punishable with imprisonment for from ten to twenty years, and under aggravated circumstances, by death.

The offenders against this law will be prosecuted after they return to their native country, and will be subjected to the severest penalties of the law.[1]

The overwhelming majority of the Rumanians in this country are not Rumanians from Rumania, but from Hungary. Among these the number of those who became citizens of the United States is very small, and the majority of them are still citizens of Hungary. If these will listen to Doctor Lukasciu and the other members of the mission to recruit Rumanian legions, they will be threatened by the greatest danger. If the Hungarian government is aware that any of these are giving his support to the enemies of Hungary, or if he should enter the Rumanian legions, it will without delay confiscate all the property, houses, real estate, and all chattels belonging to him and his kin in the old country.[2]

But, Croatian people, although you are absolutely free to give your sympathies and divide your money among whomever you please, you must always bear in mind the following: if you help the enemies of your Croatian country and their lawful authorities, that is a treasonable act, and is terribly punished in every country in the world, including Austria-Hungary. If the Entente should win this war and our Croatian country should be divided among the Italians and Servians, the traitors would then escape punishment; but about such a victory there is no use talking. Everyone knows how little chance the Entente has of such a victory.

Therefore, if the Entente should lose the war, the traitors would be punished. There is no use of thinking that the Central powers (Germany and Austria) will be crushed, and that the Servians and Italians will divide among themselves

[1] *Radnicka Obrana* (Croatian), Duluth, November 10, 1916.

[2] *Szabadsag* (Hungarian), Cleveland, November 20, 1917.

the Croatian lands; but . . . they will remain in the monarchy.[1]

INFLUENCING THE HOME COUNTRY

On the other hand, the immigrants in some cases tried to force their advice upon the home country.

We have here among the immigrants a good-sized group of our political "great men," who are very much puffed up and very pugnacious, and as a result thereof very ridiculous. All this, however, would be harmless, and we would not bother about them if, unfortunately, it were not a fact that their pseudopolitical activity diverges from the interests of the "old country," our mother country.

These are the same people who are eternally suffering from megalomania, and who are on the one hand unwilling to recognize the world-leadership of America in this war, and on the other hand are striving to impose upon Poland their political leadership and to rule Poland from outside Polish territory.

These are the same people who like to surround themselves with flunkeys: flunkeys who are for the most part still very "green" among us, and who have very poor and superficial notions as to conditions prevailing among us. They all fight against windmills, and they all think they are Poles and famous men, and that they alone are the only ones called upon to save Poland.[2]

FACTIONS BEHIND THE SOLID FRONT

The immigrants frequently carried their political differences into their support of the home country, and seemed to be fighting one another as hard as, or harder than, they resisted the enemy.

K. O. N. (Committee of National Defense) showed itself on this convention more than on previous meetings what it really is . . . the organized left of the Polish immigration.

[1] *Narodni List* (Croatian), New York City, May 24, 1916.
[2] *Telegram Codzienny* (Polish), New York City.

After a short period, in which it seemed that the thought of Polish independence would be able to unite all Polish immigrants into one single Polish independence organization . . . the Committee of National Defense . . . the natural division had to come. The progressive element in the community, that was for reaction, went the other way; or, rather, remained in the ranks of the Polish National Alliance, the progressive organization that they themselves had created.[1]

Paderewski, who has had little success in Europe as composer of the opera "Manru," began a happier role yesterday as hero of a comic operetta. . . . Paderewski spoke for Poland, although that country has announced through all official and semiofficial organs that Paderewski has no mandate from Poland at all. At the last Mr. Helenski . . . who was appointed as the representative of American Poles at a secret meeting composed of fifteen self-named representatives of Polish insurance societies who were neither requested nor entitled to represent anybody . . . Mr. Helenski spoke and laid at the feet of the master a tribute from the four million Poles in America.[2]

We have followed Pilsudski's directions. We had in our midst Alexander Dembski, a trusted and tried friend of Joseph Pilsudski, acting as our emissary. Alexander Dembski established direct connections between the Polish National Defense Committee and Pilsudski.

Our policy was neither pro-German, nor pro-Austrian, nor pro-Russian, nor pro-Ally. Our policy was purely and solely a Polish policy. We hold that a war on all three of our oppressors at once was impossible.

(The Central Polish National Defense Committee to the Poles in the United States.) [3]

Here is a bunch of facts from recent days: In Philadelphia a bedbug in a cassock makes a false report, that upon the

[1] *Wici* (Polish), Chicago, May 14, 1918.
[2] *Dziennik Ludowy* (Polish Socialist), Chicago, March 4, 1918.
[3] *Wici* (Polish), Chicago.

handbills of K. O. N. a likeness of Hindenburg is put at the side of the portrait of President Wilson. The proceedings before an honest American judge show that the alleged Hindenburg was Joseph Pilsudski, Chief of Polish people, imprisoned by the Germans in Magdenburg. And the judge, by throwing out the case, expresses his contempt and amazement at such baseness.

In Camden, New Jersey, eighteen policemen, led by a lieutenant, appear at a mass meeting called to protest against the separation by the Germans of the Chelm territory from Poland. They came there invited by Polish vermin, who falsely informed the local police that at the mass meeting the members of K. O. N. would preach pro-Germanism and incite rebellion against the American government. The police disgustedly order the denunciators to keep the peace.

Everywhere . . . in Maspeth, Long Island, in Harrison, New Jersey, in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in Hartford, Connecticut, Northampton, Massachusetts, and in many other American cities, including New York and Chicago . . . Polish parasites intercept American authorities from the policemen to the Secretary of State, and throw false calumnies against the Poles. "Catch, arrest, the members of K. O. N., for they are German spies, enemies of America, pacifists, I. W. W.'s, terrors of the universe, cosmic dangers." [1]

According to the *Marriage News* [2] those "Finnish Junkers," Ignatius, Reuter, and Valkeap, are not wasting Finnish money when they are not establishing offices. They live most humbly in New York's finest hotels, which in my opinion cost more for one day than Santtu's office for a whole month. The *Marriage News* would hardly consider those Junkers as wasting even if as three comrades they started to slowly use the fund of fourteen and a half millions which is here and belongs to the Finnish state.

However, it wasn't nerve they lacked, but opportunity, because Santtu Nuorteva took a lawyer . . . even a Jewish

[1] *Wici* (Polish), Chicago, March 26, 1918.
[2] *New Yorkin Naima Uutiset.*

one . . . for his aid, who put that "nice sum" behind locks so that it will not be gotten out of these very easily.[1]

Four Scoundrels!

Grskovich, Biankini, Marohnich & Co. in a New Graft Through Which They Hope to Clean Up $100,000

We are to-day publishing the photographs of the quartette which has entered into a conspiracy to bleed and pilfer the pockets of the hard-working Croatian laborers throughout the United States, using as a weapon the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

The master mind in this scheme of national scope to make every Croatian pay protection where none is needed is the well-known scoundrel, Don Niko Grskovich. Ever since he landed in this country, after having committed a crime on the other side, his mind has been occupied mostly in devising schemes to get money under false pretenses. We find him, in 1903, with Sirovatka, trying to organize a league in New York for the purpose of filling his empty pockets. Briefly, the consequence was that Sirovatka had to run away from this country, and Grskovich repaired to Chicago, where he started to publish a Croatian newspaper known as a blackmailing sheet.

In 1912, this moral wretch, together with the ex-pickpocket from New York, (——— ———), organized the Croatian League on paper in Kansas, and with the assistance of Joseph Marohnich, president of the National Croatian Society, they have succeeded in collecting $10,000 or thereabouts. Could Don Niko Grskovich tell us what became of the money? All we know is that he used part of the money to buy the *Hrvatski Svijet*, the name of which he has now changed to *Jugoslovenski Svijet*, and would change the same to the *Turkish Svijet* for a remuneration.[2]

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[1] *Lapatossu* (Finnish), Superior, Wisconsin, May 1, 1918.

[2] *Narodni List* (Croatian), New York City, Leaflet, January 20, 1918.

Having touched upon the press, it will not be out of the way to recall the recent display of "village chivalry" shown by the gentlemen from the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*. A controversy is being carried on by those gentlemen for the "honor of a Polish woman" against Mrs. Laudyn Chrzanowska, who attacked recruits of the Polish army for assaulting several women at one of the public meetings in Chicago. . . . Mrs. Chrzanowska is editor of *Glos Polek*, an official organ of the National Alliance of Polish Women.

The *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* not only justifies inflicting punishment on its political opponents, even though they be women, but insinuates that Mrs. Laudyn Chrzanowska, by her unfortunate protection, harms the honor of women. The above newspaper does not hesitate to direct insinuations and epithets at its opponent, but also makes light remarks against the Alliance of Polish Women . . . that for the good of the organization it would be advantageous to "pension" the editor of *Glos Polek*.

In other words, "cavalleria rusticana," as promulgated by the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, is a type of newspaper culture and ethics created in editorial sanctums. It is a flower of their social growth which should be preserved in an album of Polish literature developed by these knights of the pen. Not without cause has some one named them "scribblers." That they are.[1]

What the Polish-American press, led by all sorts of committees, really is, can easily be seen by reading those dirty, useless papers. They swear, ridicule, insinuate, throw calumnies and slander in one's face; they lie . . . that is all the poor reader gets every day. But note the solidarity of the scoundrels! If one inserts some hideous swinery, it is at once reprinted by his brother scoundrels in some other paper, even if this swinery is impossible, or if it comes from a source whose poisonous odor can be detected from a great distance. In a rag, ironically called the *Polish Flag*, in Bay City, Michigan, lived recently a certain (————), a degenerate fool, a notorious drunkard, an immoral individual, a rascal and scoundrel of the very worst type, a person impossible in any

[1] *Ameryka-Echo* (Polish), Toledo, November 22, 1917.

community. He has been hounded from place to place like a leper. But that does not hinder the pro-Russian papers, including the *Sokol* of Pittsburgh, from reprinting his silly, senseless compositions, which prove only the degeneration of this miserable renegade.[1]

EDITORIAL VICISSITUDES

In trying to write what would please their readers, and at the same time avoid offending the United States government, the editors often had to steer a tortuous course, making sudden shifts and tacks.

What the Editor Wrote About Hungary

Central Powers Period.

[January 16, 1917]: If German militarism were destroyed to-day, it should be resurrected to-morrow that it might save civilization.[2]

Period of Wavering.

[April 6, 1917]: The American Hungarians, singing the ever-stirring American national hymn, the "Star Spangled Banner," with a sigh in their hearts for the country of a thousand years, will say inwardly, "God save the Hungarians." [3]

American Period.

[October 9, 1918]: For several centuries the Austrian double-eagle has dug his talons deeply into the entrails of the Hungarian national body. In Hungary it was the Austrian politicians who steadily, remorselessly, agitated among the various nationalities peacefully living among their brethren of the Hungarian race and enjoying all their political liberties. Only thus could Austria block the way of Hungary's national development. Every Hungarian is fully aware of the fact that neither Germany nor Austria was ever a well-wisher of

[1] *Wiadomosci Codzienne* (Polish), Cleveland, August 24, 1917.
[2] *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian), New York City.
[3] *Ibid.*

Hungary. It was only by reason of an unfortunate geographical condition that Hungary was forced into the war. The only peril threatening Hungary loomed up from Russia. Yet even that peril could have been avoided if Hungary had been an independent state.[1]

What the Editor Wrote About America

Central Powers Period.

[February 24, 1917]: "Your Excellency's reception of us today is a proof that you believe in our loyalty," said the chairman of the delegation of American citizens of Hungarian birth, which was presenting to President Wilson the resolution adopted at a mass meeting held January 30, 1916. The President replied, "You have thanked me for receiving you; I do not deserve any thanks."

Of course, the President does not deserve any thanks for the reception accorded us as American citizens. If the purpose of the gentlemen who headed this delegation was to whitewash President Wilson's administration, it will certainly result in utter failure.

Yes, we are loyal to our country and to the flag. We are ever ready to sacrifice our lives in defense of our rights . . . but we would not be worthy of our citizenship if we would for political reasons hide under the mantle of hypocrisy and do homage against our own conscience to the Chief Executive of this nation.[2]

Period of Wavering.

[August 22, 1917]: For a long time we didn't know why Lord Northcliffe transferred the capital of his kingdom of hatred and instigation from London to the United States. Now we know why: It is to work against the foreign press in this country and against peace. The sad thing is that some day the war will end and then the German-Americans as well as the other foreigners will be nice men again, for they will be

[1] *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian), New York City.
[2] *Ibid.*

greatly needed. But destroyed cities can be rebuilt; destroyed love, never.[1]

American Period.

[September 14, 1918]: Registration is over. The Austro-Hungarians, too, have registered, not merely because it was made their duty by law, but because they realized that if they help their adopted country—the United States—they also serve the land of their birth. We have explained a hundred times . . . as have the partners of our papers, such unselfish and prominent leaders of the Austro-Hungarians as Alexander Konta and Arpad Gusta. . . that in this great war America is also fighting Hungary's war for independence. The aim of the United States is the liberation of oppressed nations, and truly Hungary is one of the most oppressed.[2]

What His Readers Wrote

Mr. Berko: Are you going to sell Liberty Bonds because you cannot make a living from your papers?

My dear Editor: It seems to us Bridgeport Magyars that they will have to send you to an insane asylum, but before you get there I would like to shoot you in the head like a dog, because you are nothing but a thief and a traitor.

When the war will be ended, us Magyars won't be afraid to go home to the old country. We will always have our respect. But you would be afraid to go, because the King and the Kaiser would shoot you in the head. It would serve you right, you traitor.

We are not going to subscribe to your paper because it is a paper that insults our kingdom and country, as you yourself do. You ought to be ashamed of the way you insult Germany.

If nine Americas should go against them (the Germans), they would not be afraid, but you, with your donkey head, jumping around to be in good with this government, you are a big bandit, thief, and traitor. If I see you on the street I would shoot you like a dog.

In the year of 1914, when Russia started the big drive, the

[1] *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian), New York City.
[2] *Ibid.*

Russians were coming through like a mowing machine mowing grass, and fought their way through the Carpathian Mountains into Saros Megre. They would have swept Austria-Hungary in a few weeks. That was when they were alarmed at Vienna and Bridgeport. But Tissa Pista hurried to the German government and asked for protection of Austria-Hungary from the big Russian roller. Then large German forces were hurried to the front and the big roller was stopped. Except for them Austria-Hungary would have been swept and fallen into the hands of the Russians; and yet you are insulting our protector.

You are a dreadful thief; I would shoot you if I saw you on the street. I wouldn't care if I would be hanged for it; the world would know I shot a traitor. What are you making fools out of the Magyars for, trying to make them buy Liberty Bonds? Why don't you buy yourself or let others buy who want to, you Gypsy liar?

About a year ago, when America entered the war, you was against it. Of course, now you get a little graft, and your heart weakened, so they wouldn't stop you from publishing your paper. You are a traitor to your own country and alliance. Germany helped us and we all know it. It's a wonder that you are not shot for a traitor like you would deserve.

You ought to publish this in your paper and you would sell more. But now you will not be allowed to print it. You should not be a traitor. You couldn't even hold King Charles's or the Kaiser's shirt in your hands . . . not that us Magyars and you could harm them. . . . From now on I will follow your paper, and if you don't stop publishing such things I will remedy your troubles.

BRIDGEPORT'S MOST SMARTEST KNOWING SOMEBODY
K.T.E.N. AND D.E.O.Z.[1]

AMERICANIZATION: OUTSIDE AND INSIDE

Even when peace came, some editors remained ingenious rather than ingenuous.

[1] Letter received by the owner of the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* (Hungarian), New York City, July 15, 1918.

Editorial in English from a Polish daily paper:[1]

That Their Voice May Carry Farther

The Polish Daily *Zgoda* henceforth will devote some of its columns to news items and editorials in the English language.

The first of these editorials will appear in Tuesday's issue.

We reach the Polish-speaking people throughout this land. Our editorials and news items are read with interest by the big masses of the Polish-speaking people in this country and across the Atlantic. The Polish press, here and abroad, quotes our opinion frequently.

We say this in no other sense than as a statement of fact, that our voice reaches large masses of people spread over a vast territory.

This newspaper is an American institution. We preached Americanism — true, loyal, and unwavering Americanism, not only during and after the war, but before the war. It was in the past, and is to-day, our policy to keep the Polish-speaking people in continuous con-

Editorial in Polish from the same issue.

The Passing Moment

In our issue of February 24th, of the *Zgoda*, will appear the first editorial article printed in the English language, and from now on we will regularly insert articles in English on subjects interesting to us. In to-day's English article we explain to our readers, and also to Anglo-Americans, why the *Zgoda*, being an exclusively Polish newspaper, will henceforth devote some space to articles in English, which space will be enlarged in the future accordingly.

We stipulate, saying this openly because publicly, that we are not doing this out of any Americanization motive, for we resent forcible and silly efforts in that direction. Our aim in doing this is to provide means of self-defense to Polish emigration, so their voice would be heard in things most vital to them, and reach where it should.

America is beginning to ail with chauvinism, which is most detrimental to the nation and country.

As a result of this some

[1] *Zgoda* (Polish), Chicago, February 21, 1920.

tact with America and American institutions. We have endeavored at all times to lead along the path to a big, powerful, and prosperous America; to a united, law-abiding, contented, and happy nation.

We continue this work and in this leadership.

And, as we continue, our work increases and our task grows bigger. It is not sufficient to make America, and all that concerns America, understood to the people whom we lead. We must also make these people, their traditions, their past, and their present, understood by America. Nothing short of mutual understanding can bring about the results hoped for by all lovers of America and Americanism.

Therein lies the reason for our decision to run some of our columns in the English language. We feel that through these columns our voice will carry farther, reaching the many millions of people who do not understand the Polish language.

It is our idea that through the columns in the Polish language we will continue interpreting all the desires and aims of America to those of our readers who do not understand the English language.

Senators and Representatives have already gone mad and are submitting bills to Congress which the most violent "Hakatist" representatives in the German parliament would not dare to do. To this action, which tends to destroy the Polish spirit in the United States, we must answer with self-defense.

According to the decision of Zarazd Centralny Z. N. P. (Central Committee of Polish National Alliance), the informational articles will be edited by Mr. J. Wedda.

But this has a wider scope: the flow of Polish emigration from Europe in the future will cease almost entirely; therefore, the Polish National Alliance will be able to develop on the American soil only, among the youth born and brought up in America, the American Poles. So it is desirable that they early become acquainted with the object of the Alliance through these informational articles, also become used to the *Zgoda*, and slowly become acquainted with its Polish contents. It is a very serious undertaking which interests us all; to "Polonize" is the reason why the English section in the *Zgoda* is coming to life.

stand the English language. Then, again, we will present in these English columns to those who understand neither the Polish language nor the Polish people, the case of those millions of men and women of Polish blood who aided not only willingly and faithfully, but lovingly, in making the United States the greatest country in the world; who through their labors and sacrifices added materially to the wealth and strength of this country.

There are a number of matters, vital to this country, that these people—our people and your people—wish to present in the public forum. It is our duty to act for them.

We will carry their voice beyond the confines of their own ranks.

We will try to get all of the people a little closer together.

Our columns in English will be edited by John A. Wedda, an American newspaper man of many years' experience.

As further evidence of the necessity of this, is an article which ought to stir the minds of all American Poles, which we are printing to-day under the heading "Polish Catholic Blood on Sale." The voice of our indignation and protest should reach the highest places, but no matter how we raise our voices it will be of no use if it is in Polish. If we want results, as citizens of this country we must come out in a language which is understood by everyone who has been in America for some time—the language of the American people.

For these and many other reasons, on the eve of the one hundred and eighty-eighth anniversary of the great Washington—the creator and father of this country, which, according to his ideals, was to shine forever with unrestrained freedom and citizenship, tolerance, language, and belief—we are forced into a position of self-defense by those who through the example of Washington ought to be fathers and not stepfathers to all seeking the protection of the Star Spangled Banner. May this become our shield and be of benefit to our adopted country.

IX

THE CLASS WAR

THE radical press is a serious and sober-minded press. Its object is to make its readers class-conscious.

The war with Germany was not popular in the radical press. It had a war of its own, from which it did not wish to be distracted—the war between the classes. For a while the World War tended to supersede the class war in interest, but with the Russian revolution the radical press found itself in possession of real news. Many of the American radicals felt that the millennium was at hand. Only the older and more sophisticated leaders pointed out that the American situation had not changed, that the Socialists in America were few, and that revolution was still a long way off.

INDICTMENT OF CAPITALISM

Radicalism starts with a program, but it eventually becomes a cult. In the ideas which it expresses, all the wishes of life are realized. Those who are willing to suffer for these ideas constitute one of the most valuable heritages of any cult. The Mooney case has been written up in the radical press of every country, and Mooney is the foremost martyr of the radicals. Before the war most of the martyrs of the United States were I. W. W.'s, but since the war many of the editors of foreign-language papers have joined the galaxy.

The radicals are very far removed from having the appreciative attitude of the immigrant toward America which is revealed in such books as Mary Antin's *The*

Promised Land and Marcus E. Ravage's *An American in the Making*. Their criticism of America, as might be expected, reaches its climax in the anarchist press.

The following quotations may be regarded as characteristic expressions of the papers quoted:

The Capitalists' War

The capitalists are generous when it comes to disposing of the skins of the people. And the young men so chosen will have nothing to say, no objection to raise, no reason to advance. . . .

Let the wretched poor invest their savings at three and a half per cent, the poor devils who, injuring themselves by saving on soap and shoes, succeed by dint of the utmost privations in putting $100 in the bank. The capitalists are taking care not to subscribe to the much-heralded Liberty Loan—they should call it, at least, by its true name—a loan of slavery and shame.

The workmen do not have any pennies to put into this blood enterprise, and it is to be hoped that the fortunate ones who have a few hundred dollars laid aside will not go now to throw them into the abyss in order to secure the title of good and patriotic contributors. . . . Already the war is being conducted with the skins of the poor. See that it is not conducted, also, with the money of the poor.[1]

The chief representative of the steel trust—its president—is Judge Gary. The chief owner of the trust is J. P. Morgan. The main owners of the copper mines are the Guggenheimers, etc. Our readers may still remember that the first great important "preparedness" meeting was held at Judge Gary's home.[2]

The American nation did not want the war, but the same bankers and manufacturers who had incited the war fire in

[1] *L'Era Nuova* (Italian-Anarchist), New York City.

[2] Jewish Daily *Forward* (Yiddish-Socialist), New York City, October 12, 1918.

Europe dragged it into the cataclysm. And now it is up to the nation to pay for the crime, whose inciters are the Morgans, Rockefellers, Garys, Schwabs, and others, kings of the industrial and financial trusts in America. Having started the war for their own interests, they turned all their attention to a cause that not they, but the suffering classes, give their muscles, nerves, and lives to maintain. With the co-operation of their representatives in Congress and the government, these patriotic blackmailers locked their revenues and rapaciously accumulated money, and leave to the suffering classes of people to die and hunger "for the sake of Patria." [1]

Let the fatherland of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Schwabs, and the Armours and the other Vanderbilts carry on their own war.[2]

Sins of the Capitalists

All over the United States the working class is doing the hardest labor. They made millions and millards of money, and at the same time they are treated as "foreigners" . . . "who have not got any right" to express their mind about vital problems of this country. Only blind men are not able to see that all the riches of the rubber industry are made by workmen.[3]

A capitalist with money is a dare-devil; without money he is a poor and pining creature. He cannot and he does not know how to live a day without large sums of money.

He needs $200,000 a year; he is accustomed to dwell in twenty-five rooms rented at $25,000 a year; he must have eight or ten servants a year; his clothing must be made up of the finest goods, come from the best stores, and to cost one to three hundred dollars.

The wife of the capitalist cannot well do without seventy-five costumes, without jewels worth $50,000, and she cannot wash or dress without the assistance of two servants. She

[1] *Novy Mir* (Russian-Bolshevik-Communist), New York City.
[2] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian-Anarchist), Lynn, Massachusetts.
[3] *Radnicka Straza* (Croatian-Socialist), Chicago.

needs a boudoir, one reception room in blue, another one in pink, and still another one with mirrors. She needs two automobiles, one for the city and the other one for the country.

They are used to having an eight-course breakfast served by servants dressed in white, a seventeen-course dinner served by two lackeys in full dress and white silk gloves, etc.

The Revenue bill will certainly become law, and will be a blow to the rich; willy-nilly, they will be obliged to become patriotic and live on $58,000 a year.

This will be necessary for a world-democracy and for the good of the United States.[1]

The capitalists, eager for business profits, are directly to blame for the disgraceful happenings in St. Louis. [Employers importing negroes from the South to work for less than the whites.]

This is the usual method under the present system of playing one nationality against another.

"To make the world safe for democracy." . . . Indeed! We are preparing democracy for the world.[2]

The New York papers have printed an ad. of the Fort Newark Terminal shipyards, requiring twelve thousand men. When the State Employment Office proposed to supply a quarter of that number, it was informed that the company needs no new help at all, but would like to "sift through" its men and replace them by better and cheaper men.

Similar accusations are raised against a certain firm in Rochester and the Hog Island Shipbuilding Company, and more of them could be cited by the hundreds.[3]

The capitalists and employers are working to organize the "Loyal Lumber and Loggers' Union," the purpose of it being to control the workingmen's movement; and it will be useful and profitable to employers, but not to employees.

Meetings are often called. Those who refuse to join this

[1] *Russky Golos* (Russian-Bolshevik), New York City, September 7, 1918.

[2] *Raivaaja* (Finnish-Socialist), Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

[3] *Dziennik Ludowy* (Polish-Socialist), Chicago, February 11, 1918.

union are being threatened to be thrown out of work. Immigrants suffer the most. Many of them have not only been put out of jobs, but cannot get any other jobs. They say that they are told to go back where they came from.[1]

The lumber workers of the Western states, who were working ten hours a day, have started the fight for an eight-hour working day, which they had decided on at their last convention.

Secretary of War Baker was forced to acknowledge the righteousness of the demand, because lumber was badly needed, and instructed the lumber barons on August 11th to comply with the demands of the workers. But the lumber barons paid no heed to the Secretary of War and insisted that the lumber-jacks should work ten hours. From this it can be seen that the lumber barons do not obey the Secretary of War, but the Secretary of War always obeys the lumber barons when they want troops against the workers.[2]

The Institutions of Capitalism

It is impossible at the present time to publish the names of those who are personally responsible for the persecutions. It seems, though, in almost every case where acts of violence have occurred, that the influence of the local chamber of commerce was backing it through their financial control of the locality. And there, where the commercial clubs were closely in association with the chamber of commerce, the suppression was by far the more cruel than elsewhere. . . .[3]

To-day the courts of the American government are nothing else than the executors of the pleasure or orders of American trusts and capitalists. Their wishes must be obeyed, otherwise they find ways to make sure that they are complied with, for they know how to help themselves. Have we not had

[1] *Keleivis* (Lithuanian-Socialist), Boston.

[2] *Azpari Munkas* (Hungarian-I. W. W.), New York City.

[3] *Vedelem* (Hungarian-I. W. W.), New York City, December 25, 1917.

examples at San Francisco, Butte, Danbury, and other places to this effect?

What lesson should the workmen learn from this state of affairs, especially the progressive and organized workmen? Should they silently look on while their best leaders are being destroyed and assassinated by all sorts of nefarious ways and means? After these experiences should they still further adhere timorously only to the legal part of the propaganda and confidently await the time when the law, which mostly is respected by themselves, shall bring them justice and satisfaction, laws and government which come from the people . . . but only the rich ones . . . that they should help? The most conservative and most peace-loving workman's blood is boiling over to that extent that "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" seems to be the only appropriate law at the disposition of the working class for their defense and the institution of justice.[1]

To the church he has trotted ever since he was a small boy, and has not once been shaken in his belief, for he has sure knowledge of what is to follow after life is gone. He partakes of the Sacrament often, and with pleasure drops a quarter into the contribution box so that the wrath of God shall not fall upon him. Every Sunday morning he also sends his children to Sunday school at the church, for his most earnest desire is that his children will carefully save their ignorance—the inheritance which he on leaving this world will give them as his only inheritance.

This is the kind of an inheritance Malakias Meuhu, generally speaking, leaves to his followers. It is a valuable inheritance. It means much. It means joy, relish, laziness, indulgence, and life—to the trimmers; sorrow, trial, hunger, shackles, and death—to the working class.[2]

INDICTMENT OF AMERICA

The radicals see America's faults very clearly, and judge them in no uncertain terms. The radical is a revolu-

[1] *Obrana* (Bohemian-Socialist-Communist), New York City.
[2] *Toveri* (Finnish-I. W. W.), Astoria, Oregon.

tionary and an optimist. He sees things in black and white without shadows as qualifications. This is his temperament as well as his vocation. There are, however, shades of radicalism.—Some are red and some are merely pink. These various points of view are to be found in the foreign-language press.

The Government

Take, for instance, the famous book on *American Democracy*, by Ostrogovsky, in which he treats of the corruption, the "bossism," the crooked politics of the party machines, and you will realize that America is still very far from the democratic ideal.[1]

Rogoff's book offers its readers much more than they expect to find in it. . . . Not only do they get a comprehensive knowledge of governmental institutions . . . but also of America, her spirit and soul. It is not necessary to read the entire book in order to ascertain that it was written by a Socialist who does not believe that America represents the last word in human progress. It is sufficient to read his description of America's so-called constitution; of the supreme court, etc., to be convinced that the author has not written the book with the sole purpose of teaching Jews how to answer questions when applying for citizenship papers. Moreover, it is likely that if a Jew were to answer questions in the spirit which he has understood Rogoff's book, he would fail to obtain his papers. . . . At the same time, you gather that the author, though realizing that many evils must be abolished here, loves his America, for he also sees her bright sides. . . . Here is a passage treating the constitution: "When a central government was organized . . . the rich and influential citizens sought to draw up a constitution that would give the great masses as little control over the government officials and governmental affairs as possible. They trembled for the democratic spirit. . . . Many of the originators of the con-

[1] *Day* (Yiddish-Liberal), New York City, November 2, 1916.

stitution were aristocrats, and looked down upon the masses as uncivilized men who should be held in check." [1]

American Civilization

That American civilization is not a trifle . . . may be proven by the fact that they are going to civilize the Philippines, the terrible barbarians! Another proof: in Wilmington nine young men, accused of stealing, were whipped publicly, each receiving twenty lashes, until their naked bodies began to stream with blood. After this operation they were tied to the whipping-post for several hours. . . . These men all had empty stomachs and nothing to fill them with, so they took things without asking them. . . . The above scene was witnessed by a large crowd, including some women. Fine? Is it not?[2]

Hurry is everywhere. Autos and trolleys in their haste run over people and kill them. . . . People haven't got time to even grow up into adults, for at five years of age they are set to work in factories. A marriage knot is tied at 3 P.M. and at 8 P.M. the wife is given a separation on account of non-support.[3]

In America they are gentlemen who know how to earn money, either honestly or "smartly."

America is a dangerous land for young and inexperienced men.[4]

Were Dewey an inventor or a second Newton, he would be honored by few people, and one would be regarded as insane if he mentioned a victory tower for him worth $25,000. . . . The truth is that America's great men die somewhere on the fourth floor, lonely and forsaken. . . . Whatever Dewey might not have accomplished in another field he could never be the national hero he is now. . . . The American nation celebrates

[1] *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Yiddish-Anarchist), New York City, July 15, 1918.
[2] *Ibid.*, October 6, 1899.
[3] *Lapatossu* (Finnish-I. W. W.), Superior, Wisconsin, April 15, 1917.
[4] *Ibid.*, Wisconsin, July 15, 1917.

its own—not his—victory. That he had no part in the victory is immaterial; that he had the aid of sailors, marines, battleships, is of no consequence. *He achieved success and that is America's fetish.* Were he to lose in another war he would soon be thrown off the idol's chair and discarded into the dirt.[1]

What America Makes of the Immigrant

On the surface it may appear that the book *Witte Arrives* is a eulogy of America and its free institutions, and of the opportunity offered the immigrant to achieve success here. That is perhaps why the book so easily secured a publisher . . . and the American criticisms were quite favorable. But this is actually not the case. It is only in a few passages that America is being flattered in a mild manner, and these are the weakest part of the book, for they are more the result of the author's imagination than compatibility with the truth. . . . For instance, the author creates the impression that the American . . . welcomes the immigrant with the greatest hospitality. . . . We greatly doubt it. The description of the farmer taking off his hat and greeting the immigrant children is very charming, but unfortunately not true. The American usually regards the new arrivals with suspicion. . . . A more accurate description, but very unflattering to America's hospitality and tolerance, is the description on page 65 of how Witte's parents are attacked by loafers, one of whom throws a stone. How a man in front of a saloon calls Witte's father "sheeny" and puts his fist into the old man's face while a dozen drunkards burst into laughter. There are other attempts to make America more attractive than she is, and these chapters are a blot upon the book. In reality the general description contains many bitter truths for Americans. And that is why Tobenkin's book is a very good contribution to American literature. Many, many Americans will see themselves as they are and will feel ashamed. "Manning" is not a Socialist . . . who cares more for the truth than for his

[1] *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Yiddish-Anarchist), New York City, October 6, 1899.

newspaper or the money it brings him. He too is an American and . . . exploits his co-workers in order to keep the pay roll down to a minimum and is a loyal servant to his bosses. He merely has a better perspective than other editors, and the newspaper has not totally destroyed the man within him.[1]

We may be mistaken . . . but we find in the novel [*The Rise of David Levinsky*] something the author might not have intended—a satire on America. . . . Another significant point is the fact that Socialism is hardly mentioned; yet indirectly it stanchly defends it . . . and in this respect it stands sky-high, as a work of art, above all other works of Cahan that we have received. . . . David brings to America all his home properties. He can stand hunger, and this is of great value to him here at the beginning; he knows no pride and considers begging as a matter of course, and this also is of service to him; but what benefits him most is his lack of personality, which helps him become a "genuine American." You cannot fail to notice that David wishes to be, not himself, but what others would see him. You are convinced that he is a rag, a weakling, without originality, but thanks to his ability to adapt himself to the superficial, the basest things in life . . . he becomes a millionaire. Then you say to yourself, "I pity you, America, if such men as these are your pillars, if such men become millionaires." No other conclusion can be made, especially when all other characters who come in contact with David, though sky-high above him, remain on the same social level. Nothing becomes of them, but Levinsky rules the world. One cannot help thinking that a system which destroys a man's character . . . and turns him into a money maniac . . . must make room for another healthier one. Levinsky is a man with soul, who thirsts for love, music, knowledge. He is not the usual passionate money-making man. . . . As he adapts himself to environment he prefers to make a million in cloaks. For it is easier than to spend his time studying. The whole enterprising spirit of the Russian

[1] *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Yiddish-Anarchist), New York City, E. Tobenkin, Review of *Witte Arrives*, by D. B. Yanowsky.

Jew and the entire history of the cloak industry is embodied in Levinsky. . . . The irony of fate has evidently willed that the best English-written book should be the work of a "foreigner," and it remained for a foreigner to . . . reveal the American spirit . . . inasmuch as it reflects upon the Jewish immigrant. . . . We think that this very book, created on American soil, speaks more favorably for America . . . than the wealth accumulation of David Levinsky. . . .[1]

America a Disappointment

A year ago [1916], thousands of Russian immigrants, having escaped from the tortures of Czarism, called hither by the strange legend that America is a land of liberty, and here cured of the lying superstition by the sinister gleam of the fires of Ludlow, by the devastation of Bayonne, by the racial lynchings, by the San Francisco *auto-da-fés*, returned to their country at the first outbreak of the revolution, when Kerensky was striving to build upon the rubbish heap of autocracy a republic in the image and likeness of the United States.

Before the Muscovite crowds in the frenzy of palingenesis they ripped to shreds the veil of the sinister lie. A democratic republic like America? Why, America is mediæval serfdom.[2]

Perhaps to-morrow we will go across the ocean, caressed by the audacious American liberties, and we will tell to the people of Italy, to the admiring and deceived people of Europe, all about the praiseworthy democratic principle of the great western republic, as the thousand refugees of the Czar's government have done when they re-entered the people's Russia.

For the present we address ourselves to you—that is, to the friends and upholders of the coward acts of democracy,

[1] *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Yiddish-Anarchist), New York City, May 25, 1918, Review of *The Rise of David Levinsky*, by Abraham Cahan, editor of the *Forward*.

[2] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian-Anarchist), Lynn, Massachusetts, July 18, 1917.

more as a matter of mention than as a hope that sound and free thoughts of straightforward truth will prevail in you.

Some of you know this land of heavy ignorance and shameless commercialism, unless in the young days of the confederation you passed through it sheepishly blind. Many of you have probably been deceived by the indulgent impression of Dario Papa.[1]

Although arrived last among the legislative tyranny, in less than six months the great republic has been able to add to the "*corpus juris*" of the brutal persecution a "trading with the enemy act" and a "sedition bill," a project of proscription against the anarchist and other series of minor administrative measures that form the delight of those who love the simple and holy ignorance of the inert mind.

This as to theory! The practical side is still more edifying! Even if observed during periods when not menaced by any enemy.

Tom Mooney has the hangman's noose at his throat, guilty of no misdeeds except that of professing ideas that are damaging to the interests of the greedy rabble of San Francisco, California, plutocrats. And it is due to the timely and healthy echo that repercussed in Russia, if the hirelings of Crœsus have not as yet cut off his last hopes of escaping with his life from their nails.

It is only a few years and the enumeration would be too long—that the Ludlow matter happened, perpetrated by the will and for the defense of one of those "Gorkian" monsters with capacious fauces that feeds the gold of their safes with the vermilion blood of the humble working people. And Bayonne, sinister with brutal provocation; and the provocation and massacre of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the pale flames of the race hatred of East St. Louis, Missouri, and the insisting lynchings, are singing the glorious songs of the democratic goodness of the great republic, not unworthy to remain side by side with the monarchy of the crippled heir of

[1] Dario Papa was an eminent journalist who came to America back in 1882, and when he returned to Italy published his impressions of this country.—Note of the Translator.

perfidious Saxony, and to attain the post of honor with the records of Czarism and the bestiality of the Cossacks.

Signed: THE BANDITS OF ALL LAWS.[1]

SUFFERINGS OF THE PROLETARIAT

The sufferings of the proletarian are the strongest propaganda weapon at the radical's disposal. By its use he hopes to arouse his followers to action. The men and women who have suffered because of their radical activities are the most valuable example of proletarian suffering. Theirs are names to conjure with.

Passing through the streets one need not pity their houses, for they are better than the ones set upon their own fields; but one feels a shiver as he scrutinizes wife and child. The father consumes his life smelting steel for $1.00 or $1.60 a day. . . . The new generation is stamped with the curse of civilization . . . out of the mother's body emerge minute, green-yellow, and weak-muscled children. And this in a land that produces such broad-shouldered, athletic people, in a land where even small-statured parents who came from somewhere in Lithuania have given birth to children twice their own proportions. . . . And these Pittsburgh lean but firm men who came from the field, and these women of the wind and grass, who are here offering themselves to the steel king . . . produce such weak children.[2]

Let us read the news which portrays the accidents of the workingmen of the state of Pennsylvania alone.

The number of industrial workingmen wounded within the period of two and a half years in Pennsylvania is greater than the losses of the army which has been sent by Canada or Pennsylvania against the Germans, according to the Pennsylvania Bulletin of the Department of Labor and Industry. The majority of the thousands who are killed are the victims

[1] Circular addressed "To the Italian Journalists who came to America to observe, to study and to pray."—(Italian-Anarchist.)

[2] *Day* (Yiddish-Liberal), New York City, March 9, 1917.

of the speedy manufacturing system which the manufacturers arrange in order that their income may become greater.

The industrial army of Pennsylvania, estimated at approximately 3,000,000 men within two and a half years—*i.e.*, from January 1, 1916, to July 1, 1918—suffered a loss of 577,053 men. There were 7,575 men, women, and children killed.

Canada, after four years of war, had about 50,000 men returned as unfit for military service. This number does not comprise those, wounded or sick, who have recovered. About 1,200 of the incapacitated soldiers who have returned to Canada are the amputated cases, soldiers who have lost one or both hands, feet, fingers, and so on.

In the industrial field in Pennsylvania in the course of two and a half years there were 3,798 amputated cases.

Such is the truth. There are more losses in industry than in war.[1]

Martyrs of Radicalism

Although many of us fall in the stubborn battle,
For this we will leave to the future generations
The gained freedom.
The sun of truth will shine in the worker's hut
And happy will all the people in the world live.
And the grandchildren will sometimes
When celebrating freedom remember
All the fighters who fell
In the stubborn battle.

—George Tkatchuk.[2]

The copper barons not long ago broke up the organization of their miners by means of the "rustling card" method. They provoked strikers with their unbearable injustice. They resorted to violence against the miners. They introduced their own mob rule in spite of the Federal authorities. They

[1] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian-Socialist), Chicago, December 27, 1918.

[2] *Robitnyk* (Ukrainian-Socialist), Cleveland, May 25, 1915. (The author helped to organize the Ukrainian Socialist party. This poem was written in prison.)

deported hundreds of citizens into the desert and left them there to suffer from hunger, thirst, and the burning of the sun's rays. They instigated the hanging of Frank Little, the fearless organizer of the I. W. W., the champion of labor.

Did the American government sentence, or at least brand, the copper barons for their cruelties committed against labor?

Or do they hold lives of no value when the victims happen to be workingmen? [1]

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and corruption of the decadent official Socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babœuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.[2]

The proletarian mass must, therefore, replace all the traditional organs of the domination of the bourgeois class, from the most important part of the state down to the smallest community, by councils of workers and soldiers. Simple decrees by the supreme revolutionary authorities on Socialism are by themselves worthless—Eugene Debs, Tom Mooney, Kate Richards O'Hare, Bill Heywood, and Luigi Parenti, Pietro Nigra, Giovanni Balcozzi, Pietro Perri, Pietro Bobba, and hundreds of others, champions of the workers' movement, have been thrown in American prisons.[3]

Everybody against the war, for our own war—until they return to us Galleani and Eramo, Goldman and Berkman, Billings and Mooney.[4]

What story will be told to the commoners of Italy, Spain, and France by the anarchists whom you have raided through-

[1] *Azpari Munkas* (Hungarian-I. W. W.), New York City, November 17, 1917.

[2] *Manifesto and Governing Rules of the Communist International*, published by Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Company, 1642 N. Halsted Street, Chicago.

[3] *L'Era Nuova* (Italian-Anarchist), New York City.

[4] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian-Anarchist), Lynn, Massachusetts, June 3, 1917.

out the forty-eight states of the Union and are preparing to expel? . . .[1]

We take and will take the martyrdom of our Billings, and to-morrow the head of our Mooney and his companion, and in a bundle all of our victims of yesterday and to-day, and we will present them before all the war people, painted with democracy, and say to them: "A democracy covered with so many infamies, so many crimes, it is pretty just that it has accomplished the last and greatest crime, that of prostituting itself to-day more than any other time to the dogfish of finance, who with war try only to save their capital, given—as the usurer gives—to the bourgeoisie of Europe in order to bleed even the future generations after the present has given both the purse and life." [2]

We call attention to one more fact. Any kind of persecution awakes invariably in all nobler souls a powerful attachment to the persecuted cause. We know well that for 29,000,000 of American proletariat we have only 100,000 members in our party, while in Russian Poland, where membership in the Socialist party is being punished by deportation and hard labor in the mines of Siberia, and where in 1905–07 600 Polish Socialists have been hanged by the Russian government, the Polish industrial proletariat flocks by thousands to the banner of Socialism. We observe the same symptoms with Poles with respect to patriotism.[3]

THE RED MOVEMENT

Sympathy with the Russian experiment is usually outspoken. There is a good deal of communication between the radical organizations in different parts of the country and of the world. The so-called Red move-

[1] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian-Anarchist), Lynn, Massachusetts, August 4, 1917.

[2] *Il Proletario* (Italian-I. W. W.), Boston.

[3] *The Polish Socialists and the Struggle for the Independence of Poland*, pamphlet published by the executive committee of the Polish Socialist Alliance, Chicago.

ment seems, however, not to have made much progress in this country.

Bolshevism Indorsed

When watching the world-happenings and reflecting, I believe those Russian Bolsheviks are acting exactly as they should act as a Socialistic government. Taking it from the roots, like the old system of misgovernment, so with the capitalists and clergy who are in the way of progress, enlightenment, and humanity.[1]

It would be to the great merit of the Bolsheviki, it would hasten the process and bring new order in the world, if they would only take the whole country of Russia in their hands with all regardlessness of consequence and perform their Socialistic program to change the whole system on a Socialistic scheme and instill the same question in proletarian masses of all countries.[2]

Lenine and all his adherents fight to form a Socialistic order in the entire world; but as earnest, real politicians they know that this can only be achieved in a revolutionary manner. Therefore, they call the workers of all countries to a revolution to reconstruct the organization on which the bourgeois system exists. This, the proletariat of Russia and Germany understands; this, the proletariat of England and France begins to understand; one must hope also that American workers will soon begin to understand the plain truth.[3]

Helping the European Comrades

Extending a brotherly hand to the revolutionary workingman's classes in Europe, we indorse the efforts of our comrades under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht and of our comrades in Finland, Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia, Holland, and

[1] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian-Socialist), Chicago.
[2] *Haydamaka* (Russian and Ukrainian-I. W. W.), New York City.
[3] *Der Kampf* (Yiddish-Communist), New York City.

other nations, to create a government according to the Russian form.

We demand that our government immediately recognize the Russian Socialistic republic of the Soviets.[1]

The Jewish branch of the Socialist party in West Philadelphia has sent $25.00 in response to our proposal to create a fund to help the English Labor party at the coming election. Together with what was previously received we now have $49.00. From Boston and many other cities we have been notified that our comrades were getting ready to send contributions. This would serve as a good example of true, not alone verbal, solidarity, if the Jewish Socialists will make a good contribution to the English Labor party to help them in the great and significant struggle before them.[2]

Red Progress in the United States

The triumphal march of Bolshevism is paving the way in the larger industrial centers of the East. Particularly the liveliest harbor cities, such as New York and Boston, to which I shall devote this article, appear to blaze the red trail, at any rate, in the revolutionary propaganda work. The mass meetings are beginning to develop a mighty movement, particularly among the Russians and Irishmen. There is no longer a single Sunday or holiday when crowds by the thousands do not rush to meetings vieing to hear and spread the seed of revolution.

On the 15th instant there was a big mass meeting by the Irishmen, in which there was as speaker one of the best known English speakers, Jim Larkin. The occasion turned out to be festive and spurtive with fire of revolution, when this "fire-tongue" spoke with his thundering voice to a brimful audience at the Grand Opera House. . . .

Readers of the *Industrialisti* residing in Boston and vicinity, take notice! January 19th will turn out to be a gigantic propaganda occasion, for the reason that the local defense committee of the political prisoners has arranged a big mass

[1] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian-Socialist), Chicago, November 18, 1918.
[2] *Naye Welt* (Yiddish-Socialist), New York City, October 25, 1918.

meeting for that day in the Grand Opera House, at 724 Washington Street. Speakers will be first class, such as Scott Nearing, etc. Therefore come along by the crowds.[1]

We must not look disinterested at the events in Europe, but must do our most, that the revolutionary flag will also be raised on this side of the ocean. Thus we render the biggest help to the European revolution.[2]

Now is the time to join the Socialistic movement, who have joined together with the Revolutionary Proletariat of the world, in a decisive battle against the black crows of the world, who endeavor to force new claims upon the working classes of all countries.

Together with our brethren of Europe, who have loudly proclaimed the realization of Socialism, and to build a power.

The Socialist movement in America enters into a period of active battle, of active propaganda, to spread the theory of Socialism.

Jewish Branch Fourth Socialist Party. We meet every Monday evening, 647 Prospect Avenue, Bronx.[3]

PROPHECIES

The prophecy of ultimate triumph is a favorite sport among radical writers. Some of them breathe smoke and fire and attain a rhapsodic abandon almost incoherent. Others paint a picture of serene happiness in the "new society."

The conflict is going on. Russia, Germany, East and Central Europe are the arena of the great fight. Only rumors reach us; we get only the echo of the steps from the distance. "There rings on the ladder of time the soft step of feet in silken shoes that are walking down and the heavy step of feet in wooden shoes that are going up." The poet sees the final triumph of the feet in wooden shoes. We, the

[1] *Industrialisti* (Finnish-I. W. W.), Duluth, December 30, 1918.
[2] *Uus Ulm* (Esthonian-Socialist), New York City.
[3] Pamphlet (Yiddish).

dry prosaic people of life, know that one side will go up; but the other will not go down in good will because they do not wish to go down willingly. A terrible conflict is coming. This is not a prophecy or a dark foreboding; neither is it rejoicing over the storm which approaches. It is a cold and sober outlook upon what has grown ripe in the lap of our society and is as unavoidable, tragically unavoidable if you wish, as the rising of the sun and the heaving and falling of the ocean. And not by curses and charms will you avoid the fight, the titanic clash between the elemental forces of the social world. And still less by arms and brute force.[1]

The World War has shattered the international proletariat; the capitalist classes were once again successful in sicking the nations on each other and in getting the workers of the different countries to slay and destroy each other. But it accomplished even more. . . . Whole parties, entire working classes—at least it appeared so—followed their employers and rulers, and went to their death before the eyes of the capitalists, singing capitalistic songs and transported by capitalistic patriotism. . . . It even happened that Socialistic leaders themselves seized rifles and rushed "to a heroic death for their fatherland." . . . Capitalism seemed to sit on its throne, all peoples its faithful subjects, with not one rebel to threaten its safety and prosperity. . . . But it only *seemed* so. All else in the world deceives; only the revolutionism of the proletariat masses stands. . . . In Stockholm will soon sit the parliament of the peoples of the world, which convenes above capitalistic governments, victorious governments, victorious emperors and rulers; on the strength of revolutionary proletariat masses, on the strength of revolution, before which governments are silent and capitalistic states tremble.[2]

The capitalistic class with its prisons can no more hold up the revolution than the legendary old woman was able to sweep back the waves of the sea with her broom.

[1] *Naye Welt* (Yiddish-Socialist), New York City, November 15, 1918.

[2] *Raivaaja* (Finnish-Socialist), Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

When the masses shall be inoculated with the spirit of class solidarity, only then, when unshakable faith in their own strength arises, can they hope to pluck the fruits of the great revolutionary struggles, of which they were the creators.[1]

And say, what would you be in a world without gods, without kings, without bosses, without fetters, without tears?

Judgment day!

Awake and be on your guard, obtuse herd of faithful slaves.

The storm approaches thundering from the far east, and in the darkened skies flashes the apocalypse of unexpected expiations, while comes from the most profound and less explained strata of history the eruptions, the heresies of sufferings, releases of surprising irrepressible strength.[2]

One must be merciless toward things and institutions—first, private property and her companion, the state, must be done away with. Yes! The success of the revolution is in that she falls hard not on men, but on institutions men have created.

Then let the brave forerunners of the storm arise!

Let the creative powers develop—let the storm start![3]

Let us tell these Kaisers of wealth once for all that we are disposed to obtain our liberty at the price of their stinking carcasses. That we are determined to obtain our liberty, appearing in the night in their sanctuaries as livid specters, because of the centuries of starvation and chains, with a dagger between our teeth tight because of wrath; and with dynamite will we bring down the roof of their dwellings, where infamy, dishonor, and slavery are perpetuated.[4]

Let them keep up their methods, these American extortioners. They play dangerously with fire. Let them hang

[1] *A. Felszabadulas* (Hungarian-I. W. W.), Chicago.
[2] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian-Anarchist), Lynn, Massachusetts.
[3] *Bread and Freedom* (Russian-Syndicalist), New York City.
[4] *Il Diretto* (Italian-I. W. W.), New York City, January 25, 1919.

a few more leaders and agitators of the workmen. Have we not a great number of telegraph poles? But all those who perform this hangman's work with so much pleasure ought to remember before it is too late that it will not always be an educated, progressive, and organized workman who is hanging from these poles. And if we have not sufficient poles there are other places where these very same hangmen will swing, who first started this hanging.

"Therefore, beware in time!" [1]

The International of to-morrow takes deep roots in the blood-saturated soil of to-day. The International moves on. We will yet live to proclaim it.[2]

The time when Socialism was a divided hope, a dream, an ideal, has gone. Socialism exists. The idea of Socialism has been realized.

But—not everywhere. Our harvest is not full. The big part of earth is not yet ripe. But she is getting ripe in our eyes. With every day, every hour, every minute, we are nearer and nearer our full harvest. The workingmen by tens, hundreds, and thousands are leaving their old hearths and severing all connections with old opinions and forcefully entering the camp of Socialists. Everywhere the same. . . .

The Russian workmen have got rid of the bourgeoisie. And we will get rid of them to-day or to-morrow. Only more work, more courage! Our fate is being made here—our own and that of our children. We are not going to struggle for "democracy." We are struggling for bread, for a warm corner in a house! We struggle in order to be able to use the fruits of our labor. We want to get rid of the yoke which was put upon us during the last five centuries. We want to get rid of that slavery of the soul which was imposed upon us during the last twenty centuries. We want bread, freedom, and right! The present civilization does not give them to us. This civilization we have to overthrow, to root it out. It gives us nothing but hard work, sweat, cold, and

[1] *Obrana* (Bohemian), New York City.

[2] *Forward* (Yiddish-Socialist), New York City, October 29, 1918.

tears. On the ruins of capitalist civilization we will build our civilization. It will be our harvest.[1]

Companions! The moment is solemn; it is the moment preceding the greatest political and social catastrophe that history registers; the insurrection of all people against existing conditions.

It will surely be a blind impulse of the masses which suffer, it will be without a doubt the disorderly explosion of the fury restrained hardly by the revolver of the bailiff and the gallows of the hangman; it will be the overflow of all the indignation and all the sorrows and will produce the chaos, the chaos favorable to all who fish in turbid waters; chaos from which may sprout new oppressions and new tyrannies; for in such cases, regularly, the charlatan is the leader.

It falls to our lot, the intellectual, to prepare the popular mentality until the moment arrives—while not preparing the insurrection, since insurrection is born of tyranny.

Prepare the people not only to await with serenity the grand events which we see glimmer, but to enable them to see and not let themselves be dragged along by those who want to induce them, now over a flowery road, toward identic slavery and a similar tyranny, as to-day we suffer.

To gain that the unconscious rebelliousness may not forge with its own hands a new chain that will enslave the people, it is important that all of us—all that do not believe in government, all that are convinced that government, whatsoever its form may be and whoever may be the head, is tyranny, because it is not an institution created for the protection of the weak, but to support the strong—we place ourselves at the height of circumstances, and without fear propagate our holy anarchist ideal, the only just, the only human, the only true.[2]

On this May 1st of workingmen's blood each slave of salary faces then the nicest, healthy bath for himself and for the common cause. The consciences be renovated, our

[1] *Robitnyk* (Ukrainian-Communist), New York City.

[2] *Regeneration* (Spanish-I. W. W.), Los Angeles, California.

souls be sharpened to the faith in ourselves, our strength be organized for the defense of to-day and for to-morrow's assault upon the bourgeois world.

The cowards remain aside, the daring come forward ready for our "war of classes."

The bones of our martyrs, the bones of the proletariat, dragged by living force, increased by the war of kings and of the mighty; we will use them to strike on our drums calling the gathering armies of labor to the complete conquest of liberty and justice.

And so we shall do the day when, closed in destructive avalanches moving with "torch and ax" against our enemies, the "state," the "church," the "capitalism," with the terrible cry, "It is the Revolution that passes; it is the war of classes," that destroys a world of infamies to create the social justice.[1]

The New Society

Only the world-revolution of the proletariat can bring about order out of this chaos—can bring to humanity peace, liberty, and true civilization.[2]

But now we will let Wagner himself speak: "When the brotherhood of man has thrown off this care, has bound it all on machinery as the Greek did on the slave, man, instead of being a fetish worshiper of idols that he has made with his own hands, will be free and creative, and all his energies will be freed for the pursuit of the arts. In every country, in every race, men who have real freedom will become strong. Through their strength they will advance to a spirit of real love, and through this real love they will attain beauty. Beauty, however, occupies itself with the arts."

The objection that haters of Socialism always raise is that Socialism will drag art down from its height, that the idealism of mankind will be destroyed. This objection Wagner refutes so thoroughly that people who think will hardly venture to raise it again. Wagner and Socialism

[1] *Guerra di Classe* (Italian-I. W. W.), New York City.

[2] *Il Martello* (Italian-I. W. W.), New York City, April 26, 1918.

stand so high above the masses with their commonness of sentiment, that their spite is quite unable to touch them.

Wagner's warning to the artists themselves, his warning to the "worthy" statesman has died away without ever having been heard. The people, however, hear it, even though it is faint. Through Socialism alone will art be born again. We, therefore, are the partners of Wagner, the only friends of real art. The opponents of Socialism are the enemies of art.[1]

Society to-day is founded on such a basis that it is hated by all of us from the bottom of our hearts, and this society, if we are to remain worthy of the Socialist name, must be crushed to the last breath. Society to-day is founded on a robber system—man preying upon man.

Harmony and peace would come to men if they would work only two or three hours each day. The work would be done with pleasure.[2]

The ultimate aim of the Industrial Workers of the World is beautiful enough to inspire all sincere men and women to become willingly martyrs for their conviction. The ideal is a co-operative society, an industrial republic. Not a congress in which would sit politicians elected in wards, cities, districts, and states; but a congress in which will sit workmen elected from the industries in which they work. The workmen will elect their own superiors, their own councils of directors. Workmen's committees will pass on the employment in mines, fields, and factories. Our ideal is a world without poverty, without crime, a world where there is plenty of everything, a world full of happiness.[3]

RACIAL TRAITS IN RADICALISM

While the themes of the radical press are much the same everywhere, the expression of them differs. The

[1] *Fackel* (German-Socialist), Chicago, May 5, 1918.

[2] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian-Socialist), Chicago, January 22, 1919.

[3] *Spravedlnost* (Bohemian-Socialist), Chicago, April 11, 1919. (Letter of an I. W. W. indicted in the Chicago trial of 1918.)

literature of discontent, like the humor and the songs of a people, carries its own stamp.

The quotations from German, Russian, Finnish, Italian, and Spanish radical papers will serve to show how different is the expression of those peoples who are popularly said to belong to the Teutonic, the Slavic, and the Latin races.

FUROR TEUTONICUS

German Socialism reached the apex of its radical expression in Johann Most and the Haymarket riot. Since that time it has gradually become tamed and domesticated. The attempt to popularize the works of Marx, who was a German Jew, and to make his abstract economic theories lucid and interesting, has been given up almost everywhere except in the German press.

Causerie

What shall we chat about to-day, dear readers? About events of the day? Alas! they are disheartening; and besides, we hear enough of the great fight in the world on every workday. To-day, on Sunday, we ought to forget for a little while all this muddle, and gather in a quiet and comfortable spirit of observation. This should especially be possible as this is the centennial anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday. To think that we cannot celebrate it more gladly and more hopefully! To think that to-day we are further removed than ever from the attainment of his challenge! "Workers of all lands, unite!"

This great movement of Socialism has been lacking in depth. Too many have not understood the foundation principles of Socialism. That was not the case when the movement was still small, when it was still persecuted, when he who called himself a Socialist was exposed to chicanery, material losses, and even to being exiled. In those days a man did not join the "party" unless he was entirely permeated with the teaching of Socialism. In those days the workers studied the books which Karl Marx has given to the

world and became Socialists out of profoundest conviction, and remained Socialists, real Socialists, as long as they lived. Their philosophy of life was rooted in scientific Socialism, in a recognition of the processes of the history of mankind, and that, alas, is to-day no longer the case with many comrades. But we must have this conviction again if we wish to heal the wounds which the events of the last few years have dealt to the aspirations of the workers.

The best thing would be to begin right away. No day could be more fitting than to-day when we are celebrating the hundredth birthday of the man who laid the foundation of the Socialistic doctrine. So we might now, in the peace of the Sabbath, converse about Surplus Values. Scholars may wonder at this point how any one expects to treat "Surplus Values" under the title of "causerie"—that theory of Surplus Values which Marx tried to explain in many volumes. I grant that this is not to be a scholarly treatise. The foundation principle of the theory of Surplus Values can be expressed in short, clear words and that is what we expect to do, and what we are going to say here ought at least to serve as stimulus to further studies.

Of what use are all the treatises of scholars if they are not so expressed that those who are shut out from the advantage of having a good school education cannot understand them, and why is it not possible to write in a light and conversational way about deep and serious things?

The first thing that we would have to explain would be "value." The seed which is a part of the ear of wheat is borne away on the wind, falls on fruitful soil, grows, blossoms, ripens; and the same procedure is repeated. This seed has no "value." As soon, however, as man lays his hand on the ear of wheat the establishment of "value" begins. It depends on the labor of man. The farmer cuts and threshes the wheat. It then acquires a specific value—it has just as much value as the amount of human energy expended upon it. The miller grinds the wheat; then it acquires a new value. The baker bakes the flour into bread, and in the bread, the total amount of labor expended in making the wheat into bread, is expressed in terms of price.

Such is the theory of Surplus Value, which we want to abolish when we demand that the workers shall get the full price of their labor. This Surplus Value is a fine thing for the capitalist, and he naturally does not want to have it taken away from him. Only a well-organized and enlightened proletariat will be able to take this Surplus Value, which belongs to the whole of society, away from the capitalist. But only a proletariat which reads, which occupies itself with national economic problems, will be in a position to spread enlightenment, to raise itself to greater heights, and to gain new adherents to the Socialist society. To anyone who wishes to go into the economic doctrines which Karl Marx has given to us, we recommend the book of Kautzky, *Karl Marx's Economic Teachings*, which explains them in a simple and understandable way. This book is to be found in many workers' libraries.[1]

RUSSIAN AND FINNISH REDS

The radicalism of the Russian and Finnish Reds is a product of the war conditions in their countries, and it is still red-hot. Up to the fall of 1915 there were no Bolshevist papers in the United States. The Russian Socialists were few; their leaders were Russian Jews—doctors or dentists mostly—and the circulation of their papers small. When Trotzky came to New York, the Bolshevik wing got together a lot of Lettish sympathizers, ousted the Mensheviki from the editorial board, and made Trotzky editor of the *Novy Mir*. The United States, therefore, had a Bolshevik paper two seasons before the Bolshevik revolution ever occurred. The Finnish Reds live in the copper country of northern Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Unlike the other radicals, they are not scattered or migratory.

A Bolshevist Fairy Tale

In an empty field there stood a little tower. There came to it a lordly prince. Knock! Knock! Knock! "Who is

[1] *Fackel* (German-Socialist), Chicago, May 5, 1918.

living in this hut?" No one answered. The prince went into the hut and began living there. Then there came to the hut a merchant trader. Knock! Knock! Knock! "Who is living in this hut?" "I am living in this hut. I am a lordly prince, master of the earth. And who are you?" "I am a merchant trader. I live as I can, little by little I grow rich. Over the whole nation I create speculation and for my greater comfort I have sold my soul to the devil." "Come and live with me." So they began to live together as friends. After a while there came to the hut a priest. Knock! Knock! Knock! "Who is living in this hut?" "I am a merchant trader." "And I am a lordly prince, master of the earth. I am in with the little father, the Tsar." "I love to build vodka shops, and I love the peasants, believe me. I whip them to death. But who are you?" "I am a priest, servant of the Tsar. I bless the people, bury them, empty their purses, and deceive them." "Come and live with us."

So they began to live together quite happily. The lordly prince made war against his neighbors; the merchant trader looked for chances to take the last shirt off a peasant's back; and the priest taught the people patience because everything is from God.

Then there came to the hut a *kulak*. Knock! Knock! Knock! "Who is living in this hut?" "We are a lordly prince, a merchant trader, and a priest, servant of the Tsar. And who are you?" "I am a *kulak*. I have a vodka shop in the village. They bring everything there, even the swaddling clothes. In my vodka shop I sell self-destruction. But just now I haven't got much power among the village poor because, no matter how you talk, they say 'village bourgeoisie.'" "Well, all right, come and live with us."

So they all four began to live together. A story is told quickly, but not so quickly is a thing done. They had to wait a long time.

Then one day—such a beautiful day as has never been told of in any story or written down with a pen—there came a great noise. Knock! Knock! Knock! "Who is living in this hut?" "We are a lordly prince, a merchant trader, a priest, servant of the Tsar, and a *kulak*. And who are you?"

. . ."I am the Revolution, and I am going to strangle you all." So it came in and strangled them all. And there was left only a little wet spot from the oppressors of the people.

This is the whole story. But soon it will be told in all countries and in all languages.[1]

The Banners

As we have done at home—where noblemen and landlords are not dangerous any longer, from their palaces to the huts of the poor peasants—the Socialistic revolution will overthrow in other countries the power of the rich over the poor, the power of the landlords, bankers, and manufacturers over the toiling masses. That is what our banner is calling to. Our banner is red; it is the banner of life, banner of struggle—hot as blood—lifelike as blood. The blood that has been spilled by those fallen in the struggle has colored it, and it sparkles with flame.

Let all the beasts of prey of all countries go into the battle —everyone with his distinct banner; white banners of the white guard, lilac, yellow, red, and blue, black and red, black and yellow, green, and gray.

They all call, not to the brotherhood of mankind. They all call, not to the unity, but to enmity. Not one of them may serve as banner of the peoples of the world.

Only the banner of the Russian Socialist Soviet Federated Republic calls the peoples to unite in one universal gigantic union of toilers, among whom there will be no war, no enmity, no clashes, and all will be able to work peacefully, and everyone to live according to one's traditions and laws.

Comrades and brothers! Warriors of the Red Guard! Do you want the banner of the Red to become the banner of the world?

You worker, you peasant, press your rifle harder, for remember you defend the Red Banner of the struggle against the oppressors—the Red Banner of all toilers.

Remember, wherever it is raised, it is the crimson color of the flame, of the revolt of the toiling.

[1] *Povenetakaya Sveada* (Russian-I. W. W.), Chicago. A story for children, by A. Polyak.

Follow the Red Banner! Advance bravely and audaciously![1]

To Which Crowd Do You Belong?

One question should be put very sharply into every woman's head: Do you want to belong to the organized workers, or are you against them? Finnish working sister, do you place yourself in the opposers of Socialism's slaughterers' lines, or no? If you do not want to belong to those brutal slaughterers' group—who have probably slaughtered your loving brother, sister, or your native home—then you belong to us organized workers. Mark your foundation, working sister.[2]

Heroes

For freedom, working boy,
You can shed your hot blood,
With the streams of your blood, red streams,
Finland's earth is now immersed
Traitors of their land, bourgeoisie,
Now tighten the chains of slavery.[3]

From a Reader

Wives and daughters, try to subscribe for the *Toveritar* by wholesale. In it is good reading matter. The editor will take care that not much women's gossip will get into the paper. I am an anxious reader of the *Toveritar*, and even the children like it. We cannot do anything else when the *Toveritar* comes. We mothers of large families have not much time to read, but we have time to glance over a little weekly paper. Our situation is so severe that we have to think very seriously. We think of our children's fate. What is their future? Capitalism crushes even young workers' lives and uses the best youths of the land like cattle in their bloody sports. So many

[1] Published by the Military Department of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

[2] *Toveritar* (Finnish-I. W. W.), Astoria, Oregon.

[3] *Ibid.*

times rises a sigh from the breast and wishes for the time when the proletariat's spring will dawn. Best greetings. . . .

"ONE." [1]

THE LATIN TEMPERAMENT

Anarchism seems to be associated with the artistic temperament, and among the Latins it attains its most lyrical expression. Anarchism is also closely associated with the aristocratic temperament. It has never made much headway in the United States and is not likely to. Of the anarchist movement of the 'seventies, only the Yiddish *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* has survived. The radical Spanish and Italian papers which appeared during the war have been suppressed.

For Those Who Dare

All the world is one's country, and the system of domination remains, vile and reckless, even though its form be changed. Take pride, therefore, in the statutory liberties brought to Italy by the revolver shots of Gaetano Bresci, but announce—if ever the thought which knows no boundaries takes you by the hand and goes beyond your habitual composure and niggardly calculations—that under whatsoever form domination is cloaked, it is always the harsh guardian of the interest of the few, to the detriment of the universal rights of the lowly. It is this selfish German dispensation of life that must be destroyed in every hemisphere, in every latitude. . . .

To nimbler muscles, and nerves more tense, is left the solution of the problem which the blindness of fate and the salvation of humanity, pregnant with incoercible violence, are precipitating into the spasmodic crisis of blood, rage and hate.

THOSE OUTLAWED BY EVERY LAW. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, August, 1918.[2]

To resign ourselves to a continuous hunger, to allow wife and children to be victims of tuberculosis, scrofula, and rick-

[1] *Toveritar* (Finnish-I. W. W.), Astoria, Oregon.

[2] Pamphlet (Italian).

ets on account of lack of wraps and healthy homes, is contemptible cowardice, is race suicide, is abasement which the proletariat shall not accept and the good people ought not to allow.

It is better to die. For self-conservation even, it is better to die. And if we are going to die, if we have nerve enough to stop this life of sufferings and sorrows, why don't we seek those who are evidently responsible for such disorders and iniquities and execute them! [1]

Joyous Revenge

Workingmen, alert!

This is our cry of revolutionists, of combatants, alert! we cry it strongly to-day before we are stopped, rifle in hand, to be able to cry later, alert, O proletariat!

On this May 1st, sacred to human hopes, of all the overtired human beings, we would want that whoever is weighed under the yoke of the triple slavery—economic, political, and religious—to follow with action our desperate cry.

We would want that the proletariat, our brothers, to awake from the lethargy in which they live, to despoil themselves of their prejudices with which they are imbued, and run to us regenerated with the saintly intention to fight at our side the hardest battles for liberty and justice.

We would want that this May 1st would be red as it was dreamed by the first nationalists, would want to be able to adopt the sword instead of the pen, would want to have arrived on this day, to be able to avenge with our blood all our martyrs, those who before us were victims of the infamous actual regime.

We would want, O proletariats, to be able to raise the red flag on all the bourgeois ramparts and to be able to say, as completed fact, "the revolution that was, has transformed the world."

Workingmen, alert! Because all this is yet only a realizable dream; but the day that "other druse and humble cohorts, ready for battle, will come from the furrows and from the

[1] *Cultura Obrera* (Spanish-I. W. W.), New York City.

hovels to justice make." Come then, on this day of May 1st; let it awaken in us the sleeping energies; let it renew the most generous enthusiasm. Nothing is dead of that that was said, and it is for us our patrimonial ideal.

All is alive around us. Not before, not now, that the workingmen are killing for a cause not theirs; not after, when the interests of the bourgeoisie in struggle will force the false peace that will generate more hate, more wars; nothing for us is, or will be, dead.

We will yet be the slaves, the derided, the exhausted. The cross and the sword, increased in strength and audacity, will strike on us to impose as yesterday, as to-day, all sorts of infamy. Know how to gather the challenge, O proletariat.

Never better moment was there for us to prepare us for our war, "war of classes," to overthrow thrones and altars. Let them begin our preparations in the daily struggles against the common enemy.

To learn how to hate, hate, always. Hate "God" in whose name our blood is drained; hate the priest, the gnawing cancer of humanity; hate the state, as the first great thief among thieves; hate the capitalism that is the father of the state. Hate, hate, always—hate for the enemy of our cause, the bourgeois journalist, the disguised democrat. Hate for the politician who sells himself to the first offerer—hate for all our false friends.

In the hate of all opponents of our cause—which is of liberty, of justice, of love and common brotherhood—is found on this May 1st of death, the strength to resurrect the life.

Life that has to serve us until the day that, tight in strong embrace, we will ask on the barricades, together with the "poet," "No more bread, but blood, blood—one hour only of Joyous Revenge."

Workingmen, alert! May, our May of struggle and not of feast, of battle and not of vain bacchanals, it calls you to harvest.

Workingmen, alert! He who is not with us is against us.[1]

[1] *Guerra di Classe* (Italian-I. W. W.), New York City.

Part III

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

X

PRESS ESTABLISHED BY THE EARLY IMMIGRANTS

A HISTORY of the American foreign-language press as a whole has never been written. It is not likely that it ever will be; the difficulties of mastering all the languages are too great for a single individual. Besides that, the personalities involved are too numerous and too unstable; and the actual interests represented too changing and divergent. It is possible, however, to gather materials which will illustrate the tendencies of the press. It is possible, also, to reduce individual examples to general types, and in this way to characterize them. Since the press reflects, more or less accurately, the interests and social condition of its readers at the period of issue, its history can be illuminated by some knowledge of the people who established and supported it. This is what is meant by the natural history of the press.

Historically, the immigrant press falls into two main divisions: (1) the press established by those language groups who formed the bulk of immigration before 1870; and (2) that established by the language groups who have formed the bulk of immigration since. The immigrants of these two periods have differed, not only in the races that predominated, but in their motives in immigrating and their occupations and ways of living in this country. These differences have affected the development of their respective presses.

The date of the establishment of the oldest existing daily in the different language groups serves pretty well

to date the beginning of each press. They are as follows:

TABLE IV

DATE OF ORIGIN OF OLDEST EXISTING FOREIGN-LANGUAGE DAILY IN EACH LANGUAGE GROUP [1]

LANGUAGE	DATE OF ORIGIN	NAME OF PAPER
French	1828	*Courrier des Etats-Unis*
German	1834	New York *Staats-Zeitung und Herold*
Italian	1859	*Voce del Popolo*
Polish	1863	*Ameryka-Echo*
Bohemian	1871	*Pokrok*
Norwegian } Danish }	1871	*Skandinaven*
Yiddish	1885	*Jewish Daily News*
Slovak	1889	*Slovak v Amerike*
Armenian	1889	*Hairenik*
Hungarian	1890	*Szabadsag* (Liberty)
Lithuanian	1892	*Lietuva*
Slovenian	1892	*Glas Naroda* (People's Voice)
Japanese	1894	*New World*
Greek	1894	*Atlantis*
Chinese	1895	*Chinese World*
Croatian	1898	*Narodni List*
Arabic	1898	*Al-Hoda*
Finnish	1900	*Päivälehti*
Rumanian	1905	*America*
Serbian	1905	*Amerikanski Srbobran*
Bulgarian	1907	*Naroden Glas*
Albanian	1909	*Dielli* (The Sun)
Russian	1910	*Russkoye Slovo*
Spanish	1912	*Prensa*
Ukrainian	1919	*Ukrainian Daily*

RELIGIOUS PRESS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The first immigrants, particularly those who came to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

were composed for the most part of persecuted sectarians, little poor peoples, seeking here a refuge for their obscure and strange religious practices. They were Mennonites, German and Scandinavian Quakers, Schuenkenfelders, Dunkards, and a little later Rappists, all of them pietists and mystics.

The earliest foreign-language papers were distinctly religious in tone. They were either the organs of the denominations or of local communities dominated by the churches. In communities like those of the Mennonites, in Pennsylvania, where the Church undertook to impose its ritual and to regulate in accordance with its traditions all affairs of daily life, the distinction between the sacred and the secular, between the political and religious, as we understand it, did not exist.

EARLY GERMAN PAPERS

As there were more restless religious sects in Germany than elsewhere, the tide of immigration from the German states were proportionately heavy, and the German press developed early.

Christopher Sauer, a German Quaker of Germantown, Pennsylvania, began in 1739 the publication of the first German newspaper in the United States. This was thirty-five years after the Boston *News-Letter*, the first English newspaper, had been started in Boston, and at this time, 1739, there were but five other newspapers in the Colonies. This publication was the first foreign journal in the United States.

Sauer called his paper *The High-German Historian, or Collection of Important News from the Kingdoms of Nature and of the Church.*[1] In those days nature and the

[1] *Der Hoch-Deutsche Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder Sammlung wichtiger nachrichten aus dem Natur-und-Kirchen-Reich,* August 20, 1739.

Church covered pretty nearly the whole field of recognized human interests. Four years later a rival German periodical was started in Philadelphia, but Sauer's *Historian*, or *Reporter*, as he later called his paper—having learned in the meantime the difference between news and historic fact—still continued in favor, and eventually attained a circulation of 4,000. The *Reporter* was read in all the little scattered German communities, not only in Pennsylvania, but in New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It was apparently the one means by which these isolated settlements maintained, for a while at least, some sort of contact and community of interest with one another and with the home country.

Sauer's enterprise was continued and extended by his son, who eventually established the *Geistliches Magazin* (the Religious Magazine), which is said to have been the first religious journal in any language in the United States. As the number of German religious colonies grew, the German newspapers continued to multiply. In 1762 there were five German papers in Pennsylvania—two in Philadelphia, one in Germantown, and two in Lancaster, the center of the German rural community in Pennsylvania.[1]

For a long time these early religious communities held aloof from political activities, desiring only to be allowed to conduct their own community affairs in accordance with their religious ideals. They participated, however, in the struggles of the Colonies for independence, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the older generation of German residents in Pennsylvania had long been accustomed to take a lively interest in politics, and their papers were party

[1] Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 1919, p. 368.

organs of the most pronounced sort.[1] In 1836 it became customary for the governors to print their messages in German for circulation among the German people. This was later made unnecessary because they were printed in the German newspaper.

After the outbreak of the French Revolution German immigration declined. Gradually connection with the mother country was broken off. Meantime the language of the immigrants, and more particularly of their children, was undergoing marked changes. English words with German inflections were creeping into the common speech and even corrupting the written language. Many of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" had become so completely Americanized in the early part of the last century that they thought their language was a native dialect, and that they were the only Germans in the world. It is related that a German traveler of this period met a Pennsylvania Dutchman who, noticing that they seemed to be speaking the same language, said to him:

"You speak first-rate German (Deutsch). How long have you been in the country?"

"About six months," was the reply.

"Well, I am surprised that you speak so well."

Under the influence of the American environment the German of the earlier settlers lingered on, but it became a distinct mode of speech with a distinct literature and culture of its own.[2]

In 1815 there were still something like twenty-five German-American newspapers in Pennsylvania alone. All these were at that time printed, to a greater or less

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[1] Gustav Körner, *Das Deutsche Element*, 1818–83, second edition, p. 63.

[2] Daniel Miller (editor), *A Collection of Pennsylvania German Productions in Poetry and Prose*, Reading, Pennsylvania, 1903. See *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 103.

degree, in the local dialect. Of these papers, the York *Gazette*, established in 1794, and *Der Reading Adler* (Reading Eagle), established in 1795, were still in existence as late as 1909.[1]

THE SCANDINAVIAN PRESS

The Church has remained, in many instances, the center of the intellectual life of the older immigrant peoples.

Theological discussion and the conflicts and divisions within the Norwegian Church have, from the first, had an important place in the attention of the Norwegian community and of the Norwegian press. This is apt to be true of a group who, like the Norwegians, are preeminently a rural folk. It is characteristic of the Norwegians that of all their papers the one having the largest and widest circulation, the Decorah *Posten og Ved Arnen*, should be published in a small town in Iowa. Decorah had a population, in 1920, of 4,039. As Rev. O. M. Norlie, historian of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, put it: "There are very few Norwegian papers that do not still give a good deal of attention to religion."

Nine of the fifty Norwegian papers listed in Ayer's *Newspaper Aunual* are religious papers. There are Lutheran, Congregational, and Methodist papers, and all of these denominations are strong in Norway. There is considerable connection between the Church of the mother country and the Church of this country. One of the papers is a mission paper.[2]

This does not mean that other interests have not been represented. As early as 1869 there was a Norwegian-Danish free-thought paper, *Daglyset*, published

[1] Georg von Basse, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Stuttgart, Germany, 1908, p. 111.

[2] Sundby Hansen (interview).

in Chicago. There have been ten Socialist and labor papers started at various times. Two of these were still in existence in 1918. The Decorah *Posten og Ved Arnen* itself, established in 1874, was and is a secular paper.

Of the 472 publications recorded by Rev. O. M. Norlie in a survey of all the Norwegian papers that have existed in the United States, 156 have been distinctly religious papers, while 154 were classed as secular. Of the remainder, 15 were temperance papers and 31 were literary publications, including in that number comic papers and a number of school publications. Among the other publications which the Norwegians have at various times maintained are a single-tax paper, *Baneret*, published at Hatton, North Dakota, from 1892 to 1894; a saloon paper, *Friheden*, published in Chicago in 1870; one anticlerical sheet, *Vikingen*, published in Minneapolis in 1905; and six publications devoted to music. Of the 472 publications that may be called Norwegian—because they are published for Norwegians—43 are in the English language. These papers, published for the second generation of Norwegian immigrants, represent the efforts of the Norwegian Church and of the Norwegian community to make the transition from the mother tongue to the language of the adopted country without the break between the generations which is frequently so demoralizing to the family and community life of the immigrant.

The Norwegians have one daily paper, *Skandinaven*, founded by John Johnson in 1866. Johnson came to America from Voss, Norway, in 1845, and was for a time a newsboy and printer's devil in Chicago. In 1899, when the paper was celebrating its one-third centenary, Senator Knute Nelson of Minneapolis said *Skandinaven* was the "largest in circulation and in contents of any Norwegian paper in the world." [1]

Among the Swedish and Danish peoples secular interests are more pronounced, and the Church has played

[1] Algobe Strand, *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois*, Chicago, 1905, p. 267.

a less important role than among the Norwegians. One reason for this is that Swedes and Danes, to a much greater extent than the Norwegians, live in cities.

Notwithstanding the relatively early rise of secular interests among the Swedes, all the early Swedish papers were religious journals.

Up to 1866 no successful attempt had been made to start a Swedish newspaper that was not the organ of some church denomination. *Skandinaven* started in New York City in 1851, aimed to be independent and secular, but discontinued next year. It was difficult to get an editor for a secular paper, because at this time most Swedish-Americans with more than a common-school education were in the Church either as teachers or ministers.[1]

The first important, and in many respects the most interesting, Swedish paper was *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet* (The Old and New Homeland). This paper was founded at Galesburg, Illinois, in 1855. In 1859 it was united with the *Minnesota-Posten*, established at Red Wing, Minnesota, in 1857, and both papers removed to Chicago, where the paper was published by the Swedish Lutheran Publishing House. It passed through several other hands, was gradually secularized, but retained to some extent its religious tone until it was finally, in 1914, merged with the *Svenska Amerikanaren*, which, with the *Svenska Tribunen-Nyheter*, both in Chicago, are the two largest Swedish papers in the United States. It is said of *Hemlandet* that it was more Swedish in character than any other paper published in that language in this country.

The first successful attempt to establish a Swedish secular paper, not under the domination of the Church, was made in 1866, when Col. Hans Matson, later secretary of state in Minnesota, became editor of the *Svenska Amerikanaren*. There was at this time a young Swedish nobleman named Herman Roos in this country. He had the reputation of

[1] Ernst W. Olson, *History of the Swedes in Illinois*, Chicago, 1908, vol. i, p. 783.

being a free lance, who wielded a slashing pen, but was known to be rather irregular in his habits. It seemed best, therefore, to give the newspaper standing by making Col. Hans Matson editor, with the expectation that Roos would conduct the paper. The paper did not live, but its tradition has survived. The best representative of it at the present time is Alexander J. Johnson, editor of the *Svenska Kuriren*, a brilliant writer and enterprising politician.

The *Kuriren* started as a comic paper, *Kurre*, in 1884. In 1887 the paper changed its character and assumed its present title. Johnson is described as a "temperamental opportunist" who writes "bristling editorials which are generally read and approved."[1]

An interesting thing about the Scandinavian immigrants in general and the Swedish immigrants in particular is that it is possible to follow in the history of the press, and of the editors of their press, the processes by which the transition is made by an immigrant population from the language of the old to the language of the new home country. Col. Hans Matson, who in the course of his varied career had been associated with many journalistic enterprises, ended by founding a paper in English for Americans of Scandinavian origin. There are numerous instances of men of Scandinavian birth who have been, at different times, editors of English and of Scandinavian publications. Nicholay A. Gravstad, editor of *Dagblader* in Norway in 1888, of the Minneapolis *Tribune* in 1892, and finally of the Chicago *Skandinaven*, is a case in point. Edwin Bjorkman, who was on the staff of *Aftonbladet* in Stockholm, Sweden, before coming to America in 1891, became in 1892, after the failure of the *Minnesota-Posten*—of which he was editor in 1892—a writer on the Minneapolis *Times*, and had made a reputation as a writer and a critic. A list of the English papers published in the Scandinavian communities scattered throughout the state of Minnesota will reveal the fact that a remarkably large number of them are published by men whose names indicate that they are of Swedish or Norwegian descent. Such names as Nelson,

[1] Ernst W. Olson, *History of the Swedes in Illinois*, p. 683.

Larson, Swenson, Peterson, Olsen, Anderson, Malmberg, Lundstrom, Erickson, Matson, and Johnson are very frequent. Victor E. Lawson, publisher and editor of the Chicago *Daily News*, is perhaps the most conspicuous example.[1]

THE FRENCH PRESS

After the German and Scandinavian, the most important of the early papers were French. French papers, particularly the French-Canadian papers which represent the major portions of the French population in the United States, have remained to a very considerable extent under the influence of the Church. However, they have been influenced by a tradition different from the Scandinavian. The early German and Scandinavian immigrants were largely Protestants, and not merely that, but they were Dissenters. The French, as one might expect, are Catholics, and as far as concerns the Canadian French they are Catholics of the older and stricter tradition, without modernist reservations or qualifications. Here, as among the Poles and the Irish, loyalty to the Church is identified with loyalty to the nationality; and religion and nationality, especially the preservation of the language, are the dominant interests of the French Canadians in the United States, and the most persistent themes for discussion in the French-Canadian press.

An article upon the French Catholics of the United States in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, published in 1909, makes the statement that at that time there were seven daily and eighteen weekly or semiweekly French papers "that are not surpassed, from *the Catholic point of view*, by those of any other group of immigrants in the United States."

[1] Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vii, pp. 158, 374.

These newspapers are thoroughly Catholic in spirit, as well as sincerely American. Their editors and publishers met in convention at Woonsocket, Rhode Island, on September 25, 1906, and organized the *Association des Journalistes Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle Angleterre*. At that meeting they adopted resolutions asserting their loyalty to the republic, and advising the French Americans to show themselves true and sincere American citizens, to promote naturalization, to preserve their mother tongue, to learn the English language, to maintain parochial schools, wherein both languages should be taught on an equal footing, and to ask for priests of their own nationality to be their pastors.

The first French newspaper to appear in the United States was *Le Courrier de Boston*, which was published weekly during a period of six months in 1789, the first number appearing on April 23d, and the last on October 15th. The editor and publisher was Paul Joseph Guerard de Nancrede, later a bookseller and stationer at Boston, and instructor in French at Harvard University from 1787 to 1800. The next French-American newspaper was published in 1825, at Detroit, under the title of *La Gazette Française*, which issued only four numbers. In 1817 the Detroit *Gazette* published a French column during four months and then abandoned the venture. The second French-American newspaper in New England was *Le Patriote*, published at St. Albans, Vermont, in 1839.

IMMIGRATION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The first immigrants sought in America religious toleration. The immigrants who succeeded them came in search of political freedom. They were, for the most part, land-hungry Scandinavian and German peasants, seeking in the New World a new home. But there was a sprinkling of politically restless German intellectuals, the forerunners of the political refugees of 1848. Among them were many educated men. Most of these became teachers or journalists.

German radicalism at this time was anticlerical.

One of the early German radical papers was *Licht Freund* (the Friend of Light), published by Eduard Mühl, in Cincinnati.

In 1843 this paper was transferred from Cincinnati to Hermann, one of the early German settlements in Missouri, which was expressly founded to be a center of German culture in America. However, it soon appeared that "the country was too young to find time or pleasure in such heavy discussion as *Licht Freund* offered," and in 1845 Editor Mühl abandoned the enterprise and established the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* (Hermann Weekly Journal), which "presented but few characteristics of the old paper, being a carrier of news in the general sense." The paper has been continued under the title of *Volksblatt* (the People's Paper), and an English paper, *The Advertising-Courier*, is now published under the same management.

Licht Freund, an organ of German free thought, was succeeded by a provincial newspaper, which eventually made room for a paper in English, dealing with the ordinary commonplace interests of a rural community. The whole incident is characteristic of the evolution of the foreign-language press from discussion of theoretical interests to those of everyday affairs.

THE BOHEMIAN PRESS

At the time of the first Bohemian immigration, 1845 to 1860, German was the literary language of Bohemia. The nationalist revival of the folk language was already on its way, but had not yet arrived. German was at that time, as a matter of fact, the *lingua-franca* of the intellectuals of eastern Europe. This explains why the first Bohemian paper, the Milwaukee *Flugblätter*, was printed in German rather than Czech.

The *Flugblätter*, published in Racine, was edited by

a political refugee, Vojta Naprstek. Like Mühl's *Friend of Light*, it was anticlerical and sufficiently radical to be made the subject of heated debates in the Wisconsin legislature in 1854, when an effort was made—which was not successful—to exclude it from the mails. One thing that explains the radicalism of the *Flugblätter* is the fact that, being German, it was read, for the most part, by workmen and intellectuals. Most of these were anticlerical. The immigrants from the rural communities, who did not know German, supported the Church then as they do now.

The first newspaper in the Czech language, *Slovan Amerikansky* (the American Slav), was published January 1, 1860.

Frank Korizek, founder of the *American Slav*—the first Czech newspaper in America—had been a stone mason and an odd-job man in a provincial town before coming to this country. He learned to set type in the shop of the *National Demokrat* (the National Democrat), a German weekly published in Racine.

Hearing that stored behind the sacristy of a Milwaukee church was a hand printing press, the property of a priest, Korizek decided to buy it. The price of the press was $140. He had a few dollars laid aside, which he had earned as a musician, and with loans and gifts from friends, he succeeded in raising $40. For the balance of the purchase price—that is, $100—Korizek gave the priest a mortgage on his cottage.

The type was German, or *kurent* (current), as the old folks used to call German script. Twenty-four numbers of the paper Korizek edited and set up, along with only such small outside help as Joseph Satron (tailor) and Vaclav Simonek (school-teacher) were able to render. In the daytime he worked in the printing shop; evenings he was kept busy reading and writing by candlelight, except when he was engaged to play, for music still assured the sole dependable means of a livelihood and he felt he must not neglect it.[1]

[1] Thomas Capek, *The Czechs* [Bohemians] *in America*, 1920, p. 169 ff.

A month after the beginning of this project, the Czechs of St. Louis launched the *Narodni Noviny* (the National Gazette). Eighteen months later these papers were combined in the *Slavie*, which is now the oldest existing Czech paper in the United States. Between 1860 and the spring of 1911, according to Capek, 326 Bohemian papers have come into existence. Of these 51 still survived in 1920.

Bohemian immigration began in 1845 and was permeated by a sprinkling of the national radicals of 1848, many of them ex-priests, who wished to free the serfs and shake off the clergy, and have a constitutional government.

Not until the 'sixties were Bohemian papers really established. The *Slavie* of 1862 still exists, but it was a one-man paper. Its significance dwindled after Jonas' retirement. Jonas was the first great Bohemian, as Carl Schurz was the first great German, in this country. The *Amerikan* of 1865, which was once a radical rationalist paper, is now a paper for the agricultural public. It has never given up its policy in regard to the clergy and religion, although its tone is more moderate than formerly. The *Slovan Americky* of 1869, which was an anticlerical paper, has become a local family paper.

Four of the papers established in the 'seventies are still in existence—the *Hlas*, a Catholic paper of 1872; the *Svornost*, an anticlerical paper of 1875, which is now a successful daily; the *Duch Casu*, a free-thought organ of 1876, which is now a middle-class paper and carries fifty-six and a half columns of fiction; and the *Rodina*, which is now a family paper carrying thirty-one columns of fiction.

The 'eighties was the era of Socialist papers. In 1883–84, Socialist radicals fled to the United States. The *Hlas Lidu* was established by the first of these Socialist radicals who escaped from prison and came to the United States. The *Hlas Lidu* was a very radical paper up to the time of Kochman's retirement in 1913. The *Spravedlnost*, founded in 1887 by another exile, took its cue from the Haymarket affair of 1886 and was never as outspoken as the *Hlas Lidu*.

ESTABLISHED BY EARLY IMMIGRANTS

In the 'nineties an anarchist paper was established—the *Volne Listy*—which carried on its title sheet the words, "Printed in the interests of anarchy." After running twenty years it was discontinued during the war.[1]

It is a singular fact that Bohemian anticlericalism, the form which radicalism assumed among the earlier Bohemian immigrants, seems to have had its origin largely in this country. At least, it was in America that the movement for free thought first found widespread support among the masses of the people.

The first Bohemian papers, including the *Slavie*, were mildly nationalistic, but in 1867 the journal *Pokrok* (Progress), established by Joseph Pastor, came out openly and violently against the Church. Other papers followed, and from that time "every newcomer in the journalistic field who had set out to serve the 'interests of Czechoslavs in America' was obliged to choose one or the other camp."

The primary cause—the *causa causans*—of the alienation lies deep in the nation's past. . . . Though he may not be conscious of it, the truth of the matter is that the Czech's inclination to dissent, to question, to challenge, to dispute, is largely inherited from his Hussite forefathers. In the American Czech these tendencies burst forth with elemental strength the moment he landed in America, where he could speak, act, and think free from the oppression to which he was subject in his native land.[2]

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN DAILIES

Most of the important papers of the early immigrants date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the big German dailies, only two were established after

[1] Thomas Capek (interview).

[2] Thomas Capek, *The Czechs in America*, 1920, p. 122 ff.

1870, and those were in cities that already had daily papers.

TABLE V

DATES OF ORIGIN OF BIG GERMAN DAILIES[1]

NAME	YEAR	PUBLISHED AT	CIRCULATION
New York *Staats-Zeitung und Herold.*	1834	New York	.....
Westliche Post	1834	St. Louis	21,590
Volksblatt	1836	Cincinnati	.....
(Merged with *Freie Presse*)			
Illinois *Staats-Zeitung*	1847	Chicago	.....
Wächter und Anzeiger	1852	Cleveland	18,059
Herold	1861	Milwaukee	31,483
Abend Post	1866	Detroit	27,000
Amerika	1872	St. Louis	21,039
Abendpost	1889	Chicago	48,262

The New York *Staats-Zeitung und Herold* was, up to the war, the largest German daily. It was founded in 1834 by Jakob Uhl. After 1859 it was owned by Oswald Ottendorfer, an Austrian, and the present owners are the Ridder family.

St. Louis and Cincinnati were centers of the German press during the Civil War. St. Louis' oldest paper is the *Westliche Post* of 1834, of which Carl Schurz was an editor. The *Amerika*, a very ably edited Catholic daily, was not established until much later. The Cincinnati *Volksblatt* of 1836 was later merged with the *Freie Presse*, and is now the only daily in Cincinnati. The early German immigrants took a very active part in American party politics. The Germans of Ohio sided with the North in the Civil War and became Republicans. Markbreit, who was also a mayor of Cincinnati, was editor of the Cincinnati *Volksblatt*.

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son.

Ohio and Milwaukee became the press centers of the Middle West in the 'fifties and 'sixties. The Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* is an old and famous daily. It was founded in 1847 by Brentano, Schneider, and A. C. Hessing, and was originally Socialistic. Brentano and two of the first editors—Wilhelm Rapp and Hermann Resper—were 'forty-eighters. The paper did not remain Socialistic; it became Republican. Brentano's son was elected as a judge, and Hessing's son ran for mayor on the Republican ticket. In 1898 the paper was merged with the *Freie Presse*, of which Michaelis was the owner. It gradually ceased to concern itself with politics, and became very nationalistic. Publication was suspended for a time during the war because of business difficulties, but the paper is now being published again. The *Abendpost* was established forty-two years after the *Staats-Zeitung*. It was not nationalistic like the *Staats-Zeitung*, and at present it has the largest circulation of any German daily.

Paul Mueller, the editor of the Chicago *Abendpost*, says that there was a change in the German-American press after the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. From that time on it began to carry more German than American news and to become nationalistic. This, he thinks, was due in part to the fact that many of the editors who replaced the old 'forty-eighters were ex-army officers. These officers came to the United States after 1871—many of them because of debts or disgrace, or to escape military service—and drifted into journalism.

When the war of 1914 broke out, the Cleveland *Wächter und Anzeiger*, which was founded in 1852, and the great Milwaukee *Herold* of 1861 had as editors two former Prussian army officers, Von Noske and Von Schlenitz. As these men were very nationalistic and neither of them had been naturalized, the owners

thought it better to engage other editors. Mueller says he is waiting anxiously to see whether there will be a new type of German editor. This depends on whether there is any fresh immigration of German intellectuals and journalists.

OUTGROWING RADICALISM

Immigrant papers are likely to be, at the outset, radical in either a secular or a religious field. They represent the ideas and the ideals for which immigrants have sought space and air in the New World. As the social routine re-establishes itself, however, and the responsive social tensions relax, the interests which find expression in the immigrant press become more prosaic and practical. The immigrant groups examined in this chapter have been settled long enough for this tendency to assert itself in their press. It is part of the natural history of the press.

XI

THE LATER IMMIGRANT PRESS

THE first immigrants came to America for various reasons—economic, political, and religious; but they came to stay. This has not been true, to the same extent, of their successors. After the Civil War it was not so easy to get land and it was easier to get work. The consequence is that the recent immigrants, instead of settling on the land, have remained in the cities. When the country was prosperous they earned good wages; when times were hard many of them returned to homes in Europe. With what they had earned in a few years in America they were able to become landowners in the communities where they had formerly been tenant-farmers or laborers.

In the long run, the change in the direction of the immigrant's interest has profoundly altered his attitude toward American life.

The nature of our activities, both private and public, is determined primarily by our purpose and intentions regarding the future. If an immigrant intends to remain permanently in the United States and become an American citizen, he naturally begins at once, often indeed before he leaves Europe, to fit himself for the conditions of his new life, by learning the language of the country, studying its institutions, and later on by investing his savings in America and by planning for the future of his children in such a way that they may have advantages even better than his own. If, on the other hand, he intends his sojourn in this country to

be short, a matter of a few months or a few years, naturally his whole outlook upon American institutions and American life is changed. He will wish to secure in America that which will be of chief use to him after his return to his home country, and not that which would ultimately serve him best here. The acquisition of the English language will be of little consequence unless it might secure a slight increase of wages, and the acquirement of a year or two would scarcely suffice for any important change in this regard. Naturally, the chief aim of a person with this intention is to put money in his purse; to secure as much wealth as possible in this country, not for investment here, but for investment in his home country, so that upon his return he may possess a better economic and social status.[1]

The impermanence of the newer immigrants and their position as industrial workers account for the character of their press.

Even when there is no indication in the title, the contents show that the press of the recent immigrants is mainly concerned with politics in the home countries. As domestic politics in most so-called immigrant countries revolve about the struggles of the nationalities and of the classes, it is with those matters—*i.e.*, with nationalism and Socialism, that the press of the recent immigrants is mainly concerned.

These interests are strengthened by the conditions of their life in America. It is among the newer immigrant populations, not permanently settled in this country, and still keenly interested in the condition and ambitions of the home country, that the nationalist movements and the foreign-language nationalist press find their support. It is to the shifting tide of mobile immigrant laborers, the transient inhabitants

[1] Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, 1917, pp. 36–37.

of our industrial cities, that the Socialistic and industrial radical press makes its appeal.

NATIONALISM

The nationalism of the immigrants has found expression in connection with various ideas and organizations. The Bohemians and the Irish seem to have been the first nationalists, and after them the Poles. The first Bohemian nationalists were anticlericals and "freethinkers." In the case of the Poles, on the other hand, nationalism has been identified with the Church. In fact, religion and nationality in Poland are so thoroughly identified that the Poles have always endeavored, according to Ralph Butler, to identify "Pole," "Latin," and "Catholic," so that a Russian who was not a Greek, but a Latin, Catholic would frequently call himself a Pole. The Polish priests encouraged him to do so.[1]

On the whole, however, it is the nationalist societies that have organized and given the most aggressive expression to the nationalist sentiments of the immigrants. Every language group in the United States maintains some sort of nationalist organization. These societies either establish journals of their own or they make some journal already established theirs.

One of the most important of these papers is the *Zgoda*, which was established in 1878 as the organ of the Polish National Alliance. Before the war this paper had a circulation of 100,000, but the interest in the news and the nationalistic issue during the war added considerably to the membership of the Alliance, and the circulation is now 125,000. The *Zgoda* had a hold over such a large reading public that in 1908 the directors of the Polish National Alliance decided to

[1] Ralph Butler, *The New Eastern Europe*, 1919, p. 65.

establish a daily edition. The daily *Zgoda* has a circulation of over 40,000, and only half of its readers are in Chicago. Its circulation now rivals that of the *Ameryka-Echo*, which was established in 1863, and which also has a circulation of 40,000.

Among the Slavic peoples, at least, the nationalistic societies are more than cultural or patriotic societies. They are fraternal organizations, federated mutual-aid societies, and each little unit of the national society is likely to function also as a social club. One of the most interesting of these is the National Croatian Society.

When the young men left Croatia to come to America, they left in swarms. Hundreds from a neighborhood of ten to fifteen miles round about started out together. Everywhere men from the neighborhood were working and living together. They lived in box cars and lodging houses. They had no women. Not till they had been here for some years did some go back to select a girl from their home town, where there were many unmarried girls waiting.

One of the first things that the Croatian peasant or mountaineer discovered was that when he got sick there was no household group to take care of him. He was dependent on the good offices of his companions, who were not as close to him as his family had been. So mutual benefit societies were established which provided for him in case of sickness or death.

It was quite natural that men who had come over together, who had the same boyhood memories, and who had settled in the same place in the United States, should have an organization together. The Dalmatians of St. Louis called theirs the St. Simone Society. The men from the Croatian seacoast called theirs Krsno Primorje, which means "Stony Seashore."

In 1894 some Croatians in Pittsburgh were fired by rivalry. They saw that the Bohemians and Poles had combined their local benefit societies into a national benefit society, which gave them a center. They felt that the Croatians in the United States were a country without a capital. So they met

together, elected officers from their own number, took out a charter, and then sent notices to the four or five benefit societies that they knew of to join them. Financially, the centralization consisted in having sick benefits administered by the local group and death benefits emanate from the National Croatian Society itself.

The Croatians at this time had no real way of knowing where other colonies of their fellow countrymen were located. The first twenty locals that joined were all located around Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania. But as more and more local societies joined and were formed, the situation became more defined; there are now branches in twenty-six states. Pennsylvania has 144 branches; Illinois, 85.

As the organization grew it became more and more difficult to handle the business by correspondence, and it was decided to publish a paper which should contain news of organizations all over the country. The paper (*Zajednicar*) was then established in 1904. Thirty-four of its 56 columns are taken up with the affairs of the National Croatian Society. Accounting moneys, 6 1/3 columns. Accounting in regard to members, 7 1/6 columns. Addresses of local societies, 20 columns. Advertisements of books for keeping accounts, 2/3 column. Total, 34 columns.

The other twenty-two columns of the paper discuss the situation of the Croatian workers in the United States in relation to the conflict between capital and labor, and the situation in the home country. There are always letters from the readers. There is some fiction. In the issue of October 6, 1919, it was a story by one of the readers dealing with the period following the invasion of Bosnia, entitled, "The Beg and the Begger."

It is true that many of the Croatians cannot read, even though as members of the society they may receive the paper. But there is always some man in the lodging house who reads the Croatian and American papers aloud, and so everyone hears the news.

When the paper was first established it was decided to tax the members for it, and so they pay four cents a month in its support. This makes a revenue of $25,000 a year, and as

the paper has long been established and there is no further cost for equipment, the $25,000 a year provided for good editing and writing.

The paper accepts no advertisements and it is for this reason, no doubt, that it is not listed in Ayer's *Newspaper Annual*, although it has a circulation of something like 50,000 among the members of the National Croatian Society.

The National Croatian Society is the only national benefit society of that language group in America, and its territory extends all over the United States, except at the edges, where it crumbles. As a result of this, the *Zajednicar* reaches a larger proportion of its group than do the other organs of their groups.[1]

INDUSTRIAL RADICALISM

The radicals among the earlier immigrants were anti-clericals—notably among the Bohemians—or they were constitutional republicans, like Carl Schurz and the German revolutionists of 1848. The radicalism of the recent immigrants has been industrial and political—that is to say, the radicalism of the wage earner and the proletarian.

In the 'eighties Socialism began to assume, in the United States, the character and the proportions of a class movement. There was at this time a condition of profound unrest in Europe. It manifested itself in 1878 in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the German Emperor William I. This act of terrorism was followed in March, 1881, by a similar, and in this case successful, attack upon Tsar Alexander II of Russia. These attacks provoked a crusade against Socialists in Germany and revolutionists in Russia. Many of the leaders came to America to escape persecution at home.

[1] Winifred Rauschenbusch, *Notes on the Foreign-Language Press in America* (manuscript).

The early Socialist papers in the United States were mostly German. The first of them seems to have been the *Republik der Arbeiter* (Republic of Labor), established in New York in 1851 as the organ of the Central Committee of the United Trades. This was probably the first Socialist paper in the United States. The oldest existing Socialist paper is the German *Vorbote*, now the weekly edition of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which was established in 1872.

Between 1876 and 1877 about twenty-four papers supported the party (Socialist Labor party of North America): of these, eight were in the English language (one daily, seven weeklies), fourteen were printed in German, seven of them dailies—Chicago *Sozialist* and Chicago *Volkszeitung*, *Volkestimme des Westens* (St. Louis), *Neue Zeit* (Louisville), Philadelphia *Tageblatt*, *Vorvaerts* (Newark), Ohio *Volkszeitung* (Cincinnati). The Bohemians and the Scandinavians each had a weekly Socialistic paper. In 1878 a new daily, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, was established in the interests of Socialism and trades-unions. With brilliant editors such as Alexander Jones, Doctor Douai, and at the death of the latter Hermann Schuter, the *Volkszeitung* at once assumed the leadership of the Socialist movement, and has kept it to the present day.[1]

Among the refugees was Johann Most, who had just completed a sixteen months' sentence at hard labor in London for an article in his paper congratulating the nihilists upon the assassination of the Tsar. Most was an interesting figure.

He was a printer by trade and traveled through Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland during his apprenticeship. In Berlin he became editor of the *Freie Presse*, and was a member of the Reichstag from 1874 to 1877. Because of the cynical, biting way he expressed himself about religion, militarism, and patriotism, he served prison sentences amounting to four and a half years. Because of the law against the

[1] Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, ii, 1909, p. 193.

Socialists he was exiled from Germany and went to England. Here he edited the *Freiheit* up to 1881, when he wrote his article on Alexander II and was sent to prison. It was at this time that he became an anarchist. In New York City he again published the *Freiheit*, and again served time in prison. He gained considerable notoriety at the time of the Haymarket riot

TABLE VI

DATES OF ORIGIN OF THE RADICAL FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS[1]

LANGUAGE	DATE OF ORIGIN	NAME OF PAPER	PUBLISHED IN
German.....	1872	*Vorbote*.....	Chicago
	1876	*Arbeiter Zeitung* [2].....	Chicago
	1879	*Fackel*.....	Chicago
Bohemian....	1886	*Hlas Lidu* [2].....	New York
Armenian....	1889	*Hairenik* [2].....	Boston
Polish.....	1895	*Robotnik Polski*.....	New York
Yiddish.....	1897	Jewish Daily *Forward* [2]..	New York
German.....	1898	*Arbeiter Zeitung*.....	St. Louis
Hungarian...	1900	*Elore* [2]	New York
Finnish.....	1903	*Tyomies* [2].....	Superior, Wis.
Armenian....	1904	*Eritassard Hayastan*.....	Chicago
Bohemian....	1905	*Spravedlnost* [2].....	Chicago
Finnish.....	1905	*Raivaaja* [2].....	Fitchburg, Mass.
Lithuanian ..	1905	*Keleivis*.....	Boston
Italian.....	1906	*Parola Proletaria*.....	Chicago
Finnish.....	1907	*Toveri* [2].....	Astoria, Ore.
Armenian....	1908	*Asbarez*.....	Fresno, Cal.
Finnish.....	1909	*Lapatossu*.....	Superior, Wis.
Bohemian....	1910	*Obrana*.....	New York
Finnish.....	1911	*Toveritar*.....	Astoria, Ore.
German.....	1911	*Echo*.....	Cleveland
Lithuanian ..	1913	*Kardas*.....	Chicago
Lithuanian ..	1914	*Naujienos* [2].....	Chicago
Finnish.....	1917	*Industrialisti* [2].....	Duluth, Minn.
Polish.....	1917	*Glos Robotniczy* [2].....	Detroit, Mich.
Russian.....	1918	*Narodnaya Gazeta*.....	New York

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son. [2] Daily

in Chicago, in 1886, as the author of *The Science of Warfare*, which was supposed to have influenced the eight Chicago anarchists who were condemned to death for throwing a bomb. A year later, in 1887, Most stopped publishing his paper. He died in Cincinnati in 1906.

This period marked the onset of the great migration, which increased the numbers of the annual immigration from 141,857 in 1877 to 788,992 in 1882, and eventually, with many fluctuations in the intervening period, to 1,285,349 in 1907. As most of these immigrants remained in the city to swell the industrial classes, they were predestined to share the interests and ideals which were beginning to find expression in the Socialist and labor press.

Most of the existing Socialist papers were established after 1880. As a matter of fact, most of them were established after 1890. No doubt many were started between 1880 and 1890, but did not live. This is characteristic of the foreign-language journals. Many are born but few survive. (See Table VI.)

The Socialist press in America owes its existence to the fact that the immigrant has ceased to be a settler and a landowner and has become a wage earner and, in the language of the Socialist, a proletarian.

THE ATMOSPHERE OF IMMIGRANT JOURNALISM

The immigrant press since 1880, in contrast with that of the earlier period, is not only urban, but urbane. In most foreign-language communities there is a sprinkling of intellectuals, and in some of them, particularly among the Jews of New York, there is a very vivid and highly stimulated bohemian life, centering in the numerous restaurants and teahouses of the East Side. On Second Avenue, the Broadway and Fifth Avenue of the Lower East Side, generally spoken of

as "uptown," there is Strunsky's, where poets and writers and artists and their hangers-on are to be found every night around the little tables. The men of more established reputation and connections, like Gregory Weinstein, the editor of the *Novy Mir*, or Scholem Asch, the young novelist, even wander over as far as the Russian Inn on Thirty-seventh Street, where the East Side, the American radical, and the Americanized Jew light each other's cigarettes. But the intellectuals do not always forgather by themselves; they drop in at the restaurants in the heart of the Russian section, where some one plays a piano with one finger and there are long benches instead of chairs; or at the Palais Royal on Second Avenue, a Hungarian restaurant, where the after-theater crowds can drink their tea on the sidewalk; or at Moskowitz's, a Rumanian-Jewish Rathskeller on Rivington Street, once famous for its sweet wine and its dulcimer playing.

While in Europe every profession and trade has its own restaurant, in New York the type that patronizes one restaurant changes too often to make such a tradition possible, except in the case of the newspaper men. The Yiddish newspapers used to be published on lower East Broadway; now they have moved to Rutgers Square, and their restaurant has moved with them. At noon the reporters from the Jewish Daily *Forward*, the *Day* (*Warheit*), and the Jewish *Morning Journal* pack the Neighborhood Café. By evening, when the other restaurants are only beginning to live, the Neighborhood Café has lost its special clientele. The journalists have all gone home to their families in Brownsville, Brooklyn, and the Bronx.

The old historical Kibitzarnia [a place where people "kid" each other] of the Jewish literary men in New York City was written up by the *Forward* when it went out of existence

some months ago. What in the world were they to do with themselves—the Jewish literary "Kibitzers," [the kidders], the sophisticated and naïve, the big ones and the little ones? Where were they to build worlds and to divide countries and windmills?

Yes, now there is a new Kibitzarnia. . . . There had to be a rendezvous for Jewish writers, because without it the world could not exist. Do you know a Jewish town without its slum, its sweat bath, and its mill? The people of Israel are sustained by miracles. If distress comes upon Jews in one land, then good luck descends upon the Jews of other countries, and so it is with Jewish writers. At the very time that they lost the Kibitzarnia on Division Street, a new Kibitzarnia was opened on East Broadway.

We have been silent so far about the new Kibitzarnia. We have said nothing at all so far because we were not certain that anything would come of it. We were not sure whether the writers would fill it with their holy spirit, and whether they would be able to argue there. We were not certain whether the youthful literary men would hang out there, or whether the old literary men would sit over their coffee and break toothpicks into pieces. Now, however, we can say that the Kibitzarnia on East Broadway has come to stay. The whole shooting-match with all its paraphernalia, the little young poets, all the old article writers, all the patriots and argumenters, have moved over with their literary ammunition, and the Kibitzarnia is in full swing.

There one breaks in horses, one builds windmills of poetry and romances, one waltzes with the world, one flatters and talks over the other fellow's sketches. Each man is charitable to the other, and the steam of glasses and the smoke of the literary battle go up to heaven.

Let me give you a description of the virtues and vices of the New York Kibitzarnia: The little tables are exactly the same as in the old place, which existed for more than a quarter of a century. The literary men who used to blow there, blow here too; the men who have collected news and gossip tell of the luck they have had with it in the English papers. The writers who have not yet gotten recognition, the "youth,"

and the modern artists are also here. The old men who are played out, but who are not aware of it, still read occasionally to be stimulated, sailing along happy in the belief that they are popular and beloved by the intellectuals. The patriots among the youth have not become younger or more beautiful. One reads the same old manuscripts aloud in the new Kibitzarnia that were read aloud in the old Kibitzarnia, and that no editor has yet bought. The critics have not grown any wiser here, and the poets have not become more modest, and the "blowed-up" ones that have cut themselves out on a large pattern have not become more sane—they have filled themselves neither with honor nor liver-steak.

But the restaurant and the restaurant keeper are different. The old restaurant was broad and had no windows. The new restaurant is long and small and has windows. The old restaurant keeper was not a literary person, and the new one is a little literary. He has some ideas about advertising and he occupies himself with all the journalists. As long as the restaurant remains small and the restaurant keeper is one of them, the breath of Jewish literature will be in the air.[1]

The only other immigrant group which contains so large a proportion of intellectuals and supports anything like so varied an assortment of idealists and doctrinaires is the Japanese community of the Pacific coast. Of that community, its ambitions, and its vicissitudes, a very lively description has been given by Shakuma Washizu, an editorial writer on the *Japanese-American News:*

As far as I remember, the first Japanese paper in this country was published in the spring of 1892, in San Francisco. The title was the *Nineteenth Century*. The first magazine was issued in the autumn of the same year, entitled *Ensei* (Explorer). The *Nineteenth Century* was published by Mr. Sugawara, now well known in party politics in Japan, with the assistance of Mr. Yamaguchi, Mr. Kumano, and other members of the Liberal movement. At that time there were

[1] Article by Botwinik in the *Forward*, New York City.

a number of radical political agitators in San Francisco, and they organized a political club under the name of Patriotic League, which attacked violently the autocratic and high-handed methods of the then existing Japanese government. The paper was printed in mimeograph copies and distributed among friends in Japan. Those copies were condemned by government officials, and as soon as they reached Yokohama they were confiscated.

Next year the editors sent for some Japanese types, and the entire membership of the club helped to issue the first number of a monthly paper. As to the content of that paper, you can imagine the vehement condemnation poured upon the government, as it was right after the suppression of the previous issue.

Practically every one of the members of the Patriotic League were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-seven or eight, and they had great ambitions and great hopes. They discussed Bismarck and Gladstone as if these men were their inferiors. They dealt with the diplomatic policy of the country and its government system in the frankest possible way, and even attacked the Japanese consul for inefficiency.

However, they published only the first number, and when I inquired for the second the club members told me that that issue was also suppressed in Japan, and no further attempt was made to continue it. This was merely an excuse, as I found out later. The real reason was that while these amateur printers had been willing to set up the paper in the Japanese types, when it came to distributing them again no one would take that trouble, as it is an extremely tedious job. Some of the members did make a start, but gave it up, and finally those precious and expensive types were almost buried in the dust in the basement of the printing shop. . . .

It was at this time that I landed at San Francisco. As to my previous history: I was born in a middle-class family in Japan, was raised in an improvidential way, published a newspaper or two, ran for a political office or two, went into business, but was never successful, and at last I found myself on this continent.

Let me tell you my impressions of the distinguished editor.

Mr. Nagai, when I called upon him shortly after my arrival. The editorial sanctum, as I soon saw, was at the same time kitchen, dining room, printing shop, parlor, and bedroom, all in one. The editor talked with me while working at the printing press, his hands all black with ink. His unshaved face and shabby dress gave me the impression of a tramp. Next to him was a rough table, on which I found pieces of dried bread scattered, a worn-out coffee pot and frying pan. He remarked that, "in this country everybody works, even a President of the country had been a day laborer." In the meantime there appeared Mr. Hinata and Mr. Sanata, one about twenty, and the other about fifteen, still wearing short pants. Together with the editor, Nagai, they made up the entire staff of the *Golden Gate Daily*. Mr. Sanata, by the way, completed an engineering course in a university, later.

After this interim I went up to the San Francisco *Jiji* (Chronicle), which was located then at Jessy Street. I found at the front entrance a piece of paper pasted on the wall with the title of the paper on it. I stepped into the editorial office and found Mr. Sawaki Saburo (now the head of a department of the Toyo Kisen [Steamship] Company) leaning on the desk translating a dime novel. In the next room there was a litho printing shop and the president of the paper was printing the paper. This was during the Chino-Japanese War and the paper was doing wonderfully well for that time. They were issuing some 130 copies, with eighty paid subscribers. There were a number of helpers in this office. I understood that there were about five permanent men on the staff, but when it came to the meal hour there were about fifteen or twenty. The menu was as follows: Breakfast, coffee and bread; lunch, water and bread; and supper, rice and pork soup. After the meals the "five" remained at the work, but the others immediately scattered, I know not where.

In the winter of 1894, Yone Noguchi (the poet), after wandering around the country, rolled into the newspaper office. He handled the circulation of the paper. At that time the editor was the only member of the staff who worked full time. The others worked part of their time as schoolboys, day laborers, and what not, washing dishes and other things.

In order to supersede the *Flattery*, Yone and I edited bimonthly a magazine of similar character, called the *Orient*. It was under the business management of Okada. What troubled us was that Okada, who was our source of income, bought two loaves of bread every morning, but that was all we had. For a while we argued the world situations upon a diet of bread and water. Yone wrote unintelligible prose and mistranslations from American literary works. Okada went out to sell the magazine, but he often did not return for two or three days. When we waited for him in ambuscade to demand of him what he owed us, he got off by leaving a dime or quarter on the table. Even a sage could not live without bread, so we stopped our publication and I went to the San Francisco *Jiji* (Chronicle). While there I delivered the paper in the interval of my proofreadings. It was in the autumn of 1895. As I delivered the paper with my frock coat on, the president, Yamato, praised me, saying I was the first one who had performed that task with real dignity. It was about this time that the *Golden Gate Daily* was consolidated with the San Francisco *Jiji*. . . .

For my part, I managed to issue a comic paper called *Agohazushi* (Open the Jaws), and enlisted practically all the best men of the press circle in San Francisco. Among them were Ooka, Watanabe, Satsuke, Yamada, Yoshita, Ishimaru, Doctor Kobayashi, artist Takahashi, Fukase, Yone Noguchi, Yamada, and Ito, editor of the *New World*, and Sakakami. It was the fall of 1896. This magazine continued up to twelve numbers, but the total income for the enterprise was not more than fifteen dollars. I did not eat more than once a day for several months. At this time Okada, who failed with the *Orient*, suddenly started to publish the *Japan Herald*, and for its staff he enlisted Mr. Moida, now the head of the foreign department of the Tokio *Asahi;* also Takada, and Yokokawa, who at the time of the Russo-Japanese War went up to Manchuria to blow up the railroad bridge, was caught by the Russians and was shot. I was asked to join.

The *Japan Herald* was a four-page paper printed in lithograph. There were only two papers at that time, the *New World* and the *Japan Herald*, and both of them kept up a

wild fight in the papers. Sometimes we filled a whole page with the attacks upon the *New World*. Okada, who was often unable to get the paper from the printing shop of the Chinese printer because he could not meet the printing bill for the previous month, found it rather trying to keep the paper afloat. Twenty dollars a month for printing was very reasonable for a daily paper, but the real trouble was that the total income was fifty dollars, and we had to resort to the five-cent lunches of the dog wagon on Kearney Street to live.

It was about this time, in the summer of 1897, that Mr. Abiko, then the president of the Gospel Society, called on me at my editorial office of the *Japan Herald* on Martin Street, and smilingly asked me to make a sign for him, as a member of the society had started a family hotel. Not having a brush fit to do the job, I declined. Thereupon Mr. Abiko went to a Chinese shop across the street and got one. While the ink was getting to be dried we gossiped for a while, and I told him how important it was to have a strong public press. Of course he was not told of our "hard-ups." A few days later he called on me again and expressed his wish to start a paper. I asked why would you not buy this paper. He asked about how much. I told him that twenty-five dollars would pay for everything. He seemed a little surprised, but said he was willing to take the business over if he could pay it up within ten months upon monthly installments. We called in Mr. Okada and outlined the project, and he said he was willing to let the paper go at twenty-five dollars, and within ten minutes everything was completed.

There was reorganization of the staff; I was to take charge of the litho printing, Maeda to take charge of the editing; Okada was to take charge of the circulation; while Mr. Abiko took charge of the whole thing. The *Japan Herald* was changed to the *Japan News* and its first issue was out in June, 1897. This was the origin of the *Japanese American News*, which has now reached its seven thousandth issue. As I had had bitter experience, I assumed that even this paper could not feed us, so I started again that comic paper which came to an end some time ago at the twelfth number. Here again we got together a number of those press men at a building

which became gradually a resort for the homeless and poverty-stricken fellows. As I was manager of the paper everyone called me a great king. I was a sad king indeed—I had to do all the cooking.

Next year the *Japan News* received the types from Japan and ceased to print in lithograph. At that date I do not think the number of copies printed were more than 150.

In the meantime we got into a lawsuit as the result of our printing a certain caricature which offended an American woman. As we could not hire a lawyer to defend the case we lost it. Maeda was fined fifty dollars, and Takahashi and I were thrown into jail for nine months. During that time both of us really lived, as we had plenty to eat. Besides, we enjoyed our leisure hours to read and play our chess games (those happy days in jail). I also kept up my writing to the papers in the city regularly. After I was released from the jail I went into the *New World*, and at that time Wakamiya entered into our group. He is now editor-in-chief of the *Chuo Shimbun* of Tokio. Before I went to prison Yone Noguchi, who had spent his time with Joaquin Miller, sent his verses to an American magazine, and they were published, and he became very famous. When we moved into the house on Post Street he joined me and there published, by himself, an English verse magazine, while I changed the title of my comic paper to the *Pacific*. This had reached its second number when I was taken to the prison. Naturally the issue ceased then.

The *New World* had some trouble with the "Y" and moved to Bush Street, while the members of the "Y" started to publish a paper called the *North American*. These papers fought a bitter fight with their pens. In a short time, however, the *North American* and *Japan News*, on April 3, 1900, united under the title of the *Japanese American*, which has now reached, as I said before, its seven thousandth number.

Before I was imprisoned, in 1899, Sano, Miyagawa, and Miss Dillon published a magazine called the *Chrysanthemum*, but the project did not live long. About this time in Los Angeles a magazine, published by Yuasa and Matsumura in mimeograph print, was started. Though I forget its name,

I remember that it was not a very successful enterprise. It was at this time that the M. E. Church started to issue its organ, *Fukuin* (the Glad Tidings). In June, 1900, I left the newspaper business and went to the country for farming. Later, however, after I spent two months in the hospital in Sacramento, I found that the Japanese in Sacramento Valley were doing well, and I suggested to Mr. Abiko, the manager of the *Japanese American*, to open a branch office of that paper in the Sacramento Valley to report the local events of the Japanese community. Other papers immediately followed the movement and opened up offices in the various places. This marked the step toward real progress. As the interest of the papers broadened with the extension into the country, the editors stopped their personal abuse of one another and turned their attention toward the service of the Japanese community as a whole. The movement paid, too. Both papers found new quarters and set up modern printing presses in their shops. During the Russo-Japanese War both papers made wonderful progress, as there was a large influx of Japanese then and after the war. Although such progress was interrupted by the earthquake in San Francisco in 1906, it was only for a brief period. Before and after the earthquake there were a number of papers beginning to appear in other centers of the Japanese community—namely, the Los Angeles *News*, the Sacramento *Daily*, among others.[1]

The *Japanese American News* is the largest and most influential of the eleven Japanese dailies published in America. It has a circulation of 12,568. This history of the Japanese press was written to celebrate the event of its seven thousandth issue.

It is unfortunate that among the other language groups there are not more writers who are able to give us a picture of the press as intimate, candid, and humorous as that of Shakuma Washizu of San Francisco.

[1] Translation by Shiko Kusama.

XII

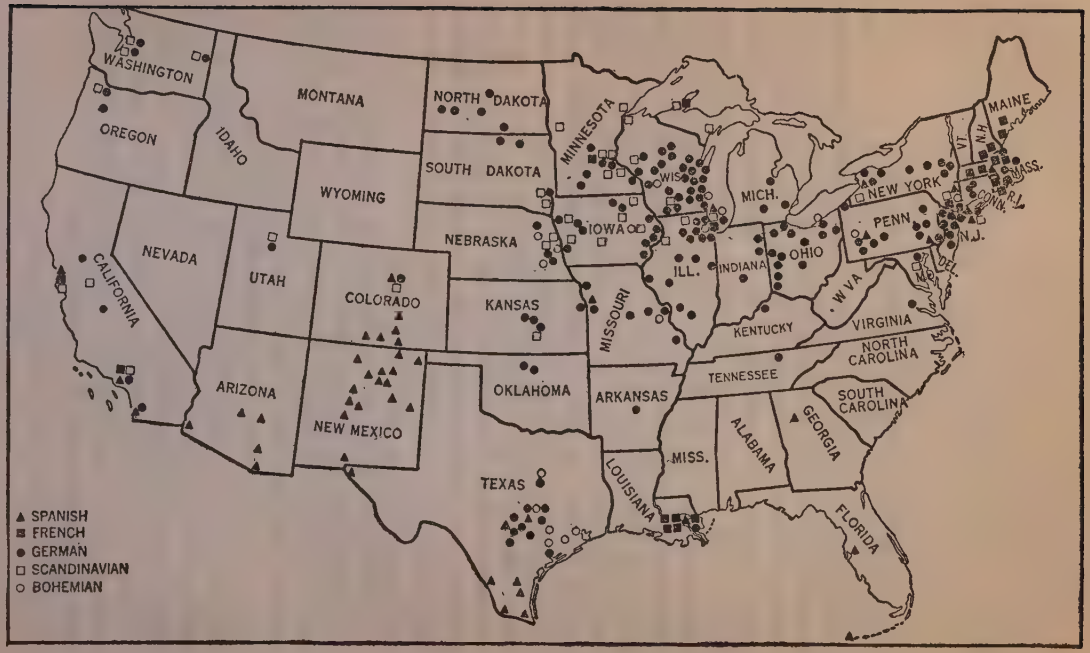
THE PRESS REFLECTS ITS GROUP

The distribution of the press of the various foreign-language groups locates with considerable accuracy their principal settlements in the United States, and makes it possible to indicate "cultural areas" in which the influences of certain immigrant groups have been more pronounced than elsewhere. The character and contents of the papers published in these areas are an index to the characteristic interest, ambitions, and social attitudes of the people who read them. In this way it is possible, not merely to define different immigrant areas, but to sketch, in a rough way, their moral, psychological, and political complexions.[1]

Outside New York and Chicago, where most of the larger immigrant colonies are located, the immigrant population, as marked by the location of their journals, falls into three or four large groups.

The Middle West group, represented by the Germans and Scandinavians, stretches a German arm down into the Southwest as far as central Texas, and a Scandinavian arm up into Minnesota and the Northwest. This group includes also the Bohemian farmers of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska, and small groups of Hollanders, and such minor population groups as the Belgian-Flemish and the Welsh. If it were possible to characterize this Middle Western group with a word, one might designate them, with reference to their attitude as immigrants, as "settlers."

[1] See Part III, "The Contents of the Press."



MAP. I.—PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF PRINCIPAL "SETTLER" AND "COLONIST" PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920

It is perhaps inaccurate to put the Bohemians in this class, as it is well known that, with the exception of the Irish and the Poles, they are the most pronounced nationalists among all the major immigrant groups. Like the Irish, however, they are more completely identified with this country than any other immigrant people except the Germans and Scandinavians.

A second group might include the Spanish, who have crossed the border from Mexico in the south, and the French, who have come down from the Province of Quebec on the north. These people, when they do not represent early settlements made before the United States took over the territory they now occupy (as is the case in New Mexico), came into the country originally as seasonal or transient laborers. Every year the stream of immigration across the border has moved deeper into the country. Every time the tide flowed back, it left behind a certain number of permanent settlers, but the population deltas thus formed are still firmly anchored, by ties of sentiment and tradition, to the home country.

This is partly because there are no natural barriers between the United States and the mother countries, and partly because the differences in culture are so wide that the immigrants have remained isolated. These peoples, with reference to their attitude toward American life, might be designated as "colonists."

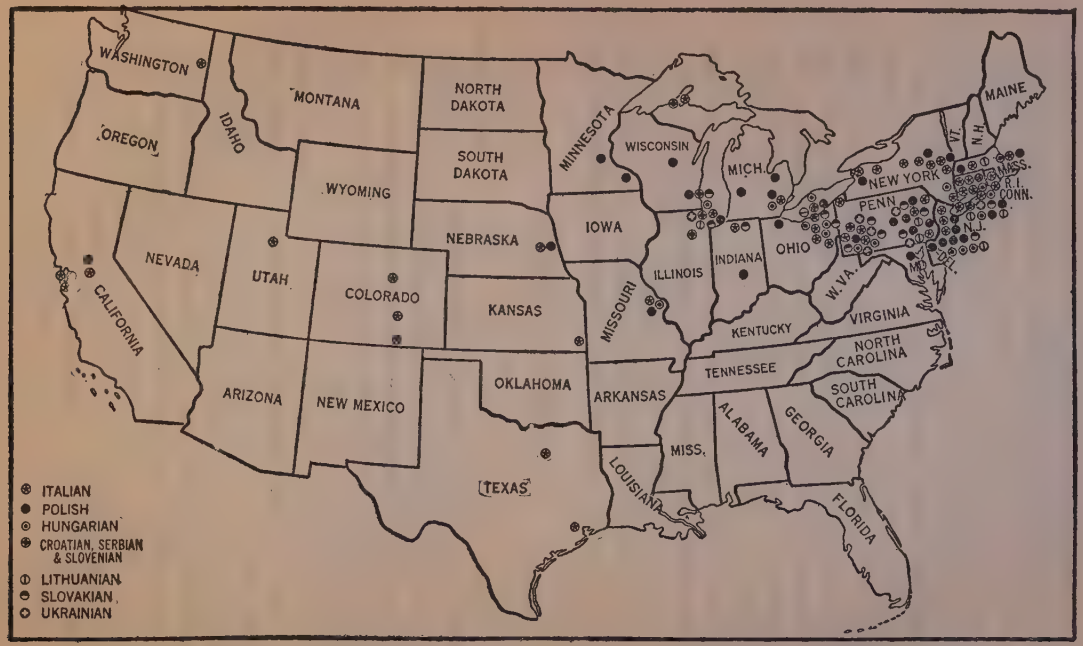
A third division of immigrant peoples that can be locally defined is that represented mainly by the Italian and Slavic populations. The full list would include: Bulgarians, Croatians, Finns, Hungarians, Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Ukrainians. These are the people who compose that great drifting body of laborers which moves back and forth across the Atlantic in response to the changing demands of American industry. These

are the men who do the rough work in the mines and make up a large part of the factory populations in our industrial cities. These people have left their own country, but they have not quite settled in this. We may characterize them as the migrant, as distinguished from the immigrant, peoples. They are the "migrant industrials."

Finally, there are the minor nationalities, who live for the most part in the larger cities, and engage either in trade or in the lighter secondary industries. They include those mobile, adventurous, and trading peoples who are farthest removed from participation in the political and social life of the country. These are the peoples from the Near East—Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, Syrians (Arabic), and Turks. With these we may include some of the very recent immigrants, the Albanians and a comparatively small group of Letts, and also the Orientals on the Western coast—the Chinese, Filipinos, Hindus, and Japanese. All these we may classify as "exotics," because for various reasons they are, or seem to be, more completely isolated and removed from contact and participation in American life than any other immigrant peoples.

Some groups do not belong completely to any one of these classifications. The sea-roving Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands have established small colonies and newspapers on both the Eastern and the Western coasts. The fact that they cling to the coast shows how tentative their occupation is, and from the point of view of participation in American life they should be classed with the exotics. Yet industrially they belong with the migrant industrials.

The Jewish immigrants, who might be classed with any one of the different categories, can actually be classed with none. The Jew, to be sure, has a predilection for trade, and is by tradition a city dweller.



MAP II.—PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF THE "MIGRANT INDUSTRIAL" PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920

But the Jew, just because he has no native country—in the sense that the Norwegian is native to Norway—when he changes his nationality does so whole-heartedly. He brings his family and all his household and tribal gods with him. Yet there are no people, with the exception of the Chinese and the Japanese, who possess a more distinctive culture than the Jews, or who have been better able to adapt their culture to America and still preserve it against the disintegrating effects of the American environment.

In the following examination of the various immigrant presses, made with a view to establishing a relation between certain of their traits and the life of the supporting groups, it will be found that the resulting classification corresponds in general with those already delineated.

PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT

The process of settlement in these various cultural areas has had a good deal to do with determining the character of these areas and of their newspapers.

The fever for immigration, as has long been recognized, is highly contagious. When it strikes a peasant village it infects the whole community, and continues until all who can have emigrated. In this country a new community is established which is virtually a colony of the village and eventually of the province in the old country from which the immigrants originally came.

The United States is checkered with little settlements, each composed almost entirely of people from a single village or province abroad.

Immigrants from the Rhine Valley, from Oldenburg, Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia, and Rhine-Hessan, settled at Bastrop, Texas; Westphalia, Michigan; Rox-

burg, Middleton, and Berry, Wisconsin; and at Little Rock, Arkansas. Würtembergers settled at Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Saxons settled at Osnabrück, Mississippi. Germans from Alsace-Lorraine settled in Lorain and Erie counties, Ohio.

Some of these colonies had special interests. Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and Nazareth, Goshen, and Canaan, which are just across the border in Ohio, are types of the early religious colonies of the Moravians, Dunkards, and Amish. Montgomery and Gasconade counties in Mississippi, New Braunfels and Fredericksburg in Texas, and Germania in Wisconsin, mark the three attempts to found a German state in America. The Duden colony on the Femme Osage River of Mississippi, and Belleville in Illinois, got their stamp from the number of upper-class and educated people who settled there, among whom were most of the political refugees of 1848. They were known as the "Latin Settlements."

The Jews and Italians have settled the lower East and West sides of Manhattan Island, New York City, in precisely the same way that the Scandinavians and Germans settled the rural districts of the Middle West. The Jewish quarter, below Houston Street, is, or was originally, a congeries of little settlements, each represented by a synagogue bearing the name of the foreign village from which its members came. Every Italian immigrant—and this is particularly true of the southern Italians—comes from a village in Italy to a colony of that village in New York or some other city.[1]

The difference in the situation of the immigrant people who settled mostly in the cities and those who settled in rural communities is that the colonies of the

[1] See R. E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, pp. 146, 242.

former have been literally crushed together in congested areas, while the latter have been dispersed and isolated in small agricultural communities scattered over two-thirds of the United States.

The tendency of city life is to destroy the provincialism of the immigrant and to intensify his sense of racial and national solidarity. This explains why the Jewish people, although they use three distinct foreign languages—German, Yiddish, and Ladino—have attained in the United States a degree of solidarity and community organization more efficient than they have attained anywhere else since the Dispersion.

What is true of the Jews is likewise true, though in a less degree, of the other urban peoples. Italian immigrants from all the provinces, with their historical and dialectic differences, brought together in our great cities, have developed a national feeling and sense of solidarity that did not exist in Italy. The national Italian society, which figures so largely in the Italian press on patriotic occasions, turns out on analysis to be composed of smaller units which are nothing more than the mutual aid societies which every little colony forms among the members as soon as it is established in this country. These societies are in their turn merely formal organization of the spontaneous neighborliness of the Italian village.

This effect of city life is visible in the urban press, where both news columns and editorials create and maintain an active interest in the politics, national and international, of the home country. The larger metropolitan papers, with their wide circulation, are bound to address themselves neither to Bavarians nor to Westphalians, nor to Saxons, but to Germans; not to Genoese, Neapolitans, Abruzzesi, or Girgentesi, but simply to Italians. In this way residence in our cities has broken down the local and provincial loyalties with

which the immigrants arrived, and substituted a less intense but more national loyalty in its place.

The tendency of rural life is naturally in the opposite direction. It emphasizes local differences, preserves the memories of the immigrants, and fosters a sentimental interest in the local home community. This is illustrated by the German provincial press, which is printed in a dialect no longer recognized by the press of Germany, and which idealizes German provincial life as it existed fifty years ago and still lives in the memories of the editors and readers of these papers.

Many foreign-language groups in this country have both urban and rural settlements and both an urban and a rural press, but usually one type is more characteristic of the group than the other.

STATISTICAL SOURCES

N. W. Ayer & Son's *Newspaper Annual and Directory* is the most reliable source of statistics on the foreign-language press. It has published lists of foreign-language papers since 1884. These lists have been getting more accurate, but they are by no means complete. They are particularly deficient in statistics of the smaller provincial publications. For 1918 Ayer lists 57 Norwegian and 18 Japanese papers, when, according to statements of students of the press, there were really 115 Norwegian and 44 Japanese papers.

Ayer is concerned rather with getting accurate circulations of papers that are advertising mediums than in getting a complete list of papers. Distinction is made between sworn detailed statements, post office statements, detailed statements, publishers' reports, and estimates. Circulation figures are not given when the paper is being listed for the first time nor "where the information received is indefinite, contradictory, or

otherwise unsatisfactory, or where our information on local conditions creates a doubt as to the accuracy of the figures sent us." [1] Apparently this is often the case with the foreign-language papers, for only 61.8 per cent of the foreign-language papers listed have circulation figures given.

The circulation statistics of different years cannot very well be compared with one another, because even the circulation figures quoted in Ayer's are not accurate enough. There has been in the past, and there still is with the papers of certain groups, a tendency to overstate the circulation. This tendency is illustrated by the case of a paper which is not even listed in Ayer's. According to the statement of the editor, the *Romane Mare*, a Rumanian paper of New York, had in the summer of 1919 a circulation of about 6,000. This paper changed hands and now appears as the *Liberatatea* and *Desteaptate Romane* of Chicago. In the issue of July 15, 1920, under the title, are the words: "The oldest and most popular Rumanian weekly in the United States. Reaches 50,000 peoples."

The big foreign-language dailies and weeklies belong to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, and the press of the older groups can be depended upon for fairly reliable statements in regard to circulation. While Ayer's *Annual* has no complete list of the foreign-language press, it does include the papers that have built up a circulation, and it does include only such circulation figures as can be depended upon by the advertiser.

The total circulation of the foreign-language press has been estimated to be as high as 10,000,000. Ayer's figure for January, 1920, was 7,618,497. The figures upon which the following tables and diagrams are based

[1] *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1920, N. W. Ayer & Son, p. 7.

are from the *American Newspaper Annual* of 1920, unless otherwise indicated.

URBAN AND RURAL PUBLICATIONS

The statistics of place of publication, whether urban or rural, roughly characterize the various immigrant groups according to their separatist or fusionist tendencies. For the groups perpetuating their press most

TABLE VII

PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

LANGUAGE	NEW YORK	CHICAGO	CLEVELAND	MINNEAPOLIS	PHILADELPHIA	PITTSBURGH	SAN FRANCISCO	ST. LOUIS	BOSTON	MILWAUKEE	TOTAL IN TEN CITIES	OUTSIDE TEN CITIES	TOTAL
Albanian	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	4
Arabic	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	7	1	8
Armenian	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	6	3	9
Belgian-Flemish	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Bohemian	7	14	3	..	..	1	..	3	..	2	30	21	51
Bulgarian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Chinese	3	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	7	..	7
Croatian	3	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	7	2	9
Dutch	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	12	13
Finnish	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	20	22
French	10	1	..	1	..	..	3	..	2	..	17	29	46
German	9	15	12	1	7	4	..	15	3	11	77	199	276
Greek	6	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	11	4	15
Hebrew	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	3
Hungarian	7	2	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	14	13	27
Italian	12	5	1	..	7	2	6	2	3	..	38	60	98
Japanese	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4	11	15
Lettish	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
Lithuanian	1	5	1	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	11	5	16
Norwegian-Danish	1	9	..	13	..	..	1	..	..	..	24	29	53
Persian	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Polish	4	11	6	1	5	3	..	1	2	2	35	41	76
Portuguese	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	7	11	18
Rumanian	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	4
Russian	5	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	7	4	11
Serbian	3	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	7		7
Slovak	4	5	3	..	..	4	..	..	..	1	17	11	28
Slovenian	2	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	12	2	14
Spanish	25	2	..	..	2	1	1	..	2	..	33	67	100
Swedish	2	11	..	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	25	33	58
Ukrainian	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	6	4	10
Welsh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Yiddish	19	7	1	..	2	1	..	1	1	1	33	3	36
Total	146	106	84	27	25	25	23	23	23	18	450	593	1,043[1]

[1] Exclusive of 9 "other."

persistently tend to publish their papers in rural districts, and in general, place of publication indicates whether a paper has an urban or a rural constituency.

There are 450 papers published in, and 593 outside, the ten American cities having the largest number of foreign-language publications. Of these 450 papers, 252 are in New York and Chicago. Arranged according to the number of foreign-language publications in each, the places of publication are as shown in Table VII.

The papers published outside the cities represent roughly the older immigration, and the papers published in the cities the newer.

The journals published by the settler and colonist groups are predominantly rural, or at least published outside the ten centers of publication.

TABLE VIII

PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF THE "SETTLER" AND "COLONIST" PRESS

RACE	TOTAL	IN TEN CITIES	OUTSIDE	
			Number	Per Cent
Belgian-Flemish	3	..	3	100
Welsh	2	..	2	100
Dutch	13	1	12	92
German	276	77	199	72
Spanish	100	33	67	67
French	46	17	29	63
Swedish	58	25	33	57
Norwegian-Danish	53	24	29	55
Bohemian	51	30	21	41
Total	602	207	395	66

Only 28 per cent of the German papers are published in the ten cities. Of all the foreign-language papers, the German are by far the most numerous and the most scattered. There were, in 1918, but sixteen states which had no German press. Many of these papers

are small provincial journals, with distinctly local circulations. There are twenty-seven towns which have local German papers with less than 1,000 circulation, sixteen of which are in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois. These three states have 129 German papers, or nearly half of all in the country.

This does not mean that the Germans in the United States are predominantly a rural population, or that they are, in comparison with other immigrant peoples, the racial group having the largest proportion of rural population. The census of foreign-born population for 1910 shows that, of the eight immigrant peoples having proportionately the largest number of rural dwellers, the Germans stand last.

TABLE IX

PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION WHICH IS RURAL[1]

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PER CENT
Norway	57.8
Denmark	51.7
Finland	50.0
Luxemburg	48.7
The Netherlands	45.1
Belgium	40.4
Sweden	39.4
Germany	33.3

What the distribution of the German papers indicates is that German immigrants have established a relatively larger number of small permanent communities capable of supporting a local German paper.

The language groups whose press is mainly urban are those whose occupations are predominantly commercial—the Greek, Armenian, Chinese, Syrian (Arabic), and the Jews. To these should be added two

[1] *United States Census*, 1910, vol. i, p. 818, Table 22.

smaller language groups, the Letts and the Albanians, who also live mainly in the larger cities. These people are classed with the exotics. Their papers are published almost wholly within the limits of the ten cities, and most of them are in Chicago or New York.

The Yiddish-speaking Jews maintain journals in only seven states, and of their 36 journals, 26 are published in New York or Chicago. These journals, few in number, have large circulations which reach practically every Yiddish-speaking community in the United States.

The migrant industrials, who are mainly employed in the primary industries, and who live in the mining regions or the smaller industrial cities as well as in the great centers of population, fall into an intermediate classification. Taken as a whole, the press of this group is almost evenly divided between rural and urban publication.

TABLE X

PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF THE "MIGRANTS" PRESS

RACE	TOTAL	IN TEN CITIES	OUTSIDE	
			Number	Per Cent
Bulgarian	1	..	1	100
Finnish	22	2	20	91
Italian	98	38	60	61
Portuguese	18	7	11	61
Polish	76	35	41	54
Hungarian	27	14	13	48
Ukrainian	10	6	4	40
Slovak	28	17	11	39
Russian	11	7	4	36
Lithuanian	16	11	5	31
Rumanian	4	3	1	25
Croatian	9	7	2	22
Slovenian	14	12	2	14
Serbian	7	7	..	..
Total	341	166	175	51.3

THE PRESS REFLECTS ITS GROUP

Other predominant characteristics of a press, besides its geographical distribution, are significant in relation to the group that supports it.

FREQUENCY OF ISSUE

A comparison of the press of the different language groups shows that the number and circulation of daily newspapers are disproportionately large among the recent and more mobile immigrants. For example, the Swedish people have no daily papers at all. Of the 276 papers published in German, only twenty-nine are dailies. On the other hand, the Bulgarians publish but one paper in the United States, and that is a daily paper. Of the four Albanian journals mentioned in Ayer's *Newspaper Annual*, two are dailies, and five of the eight Arabic papers are New York dailies.

TABLE XI

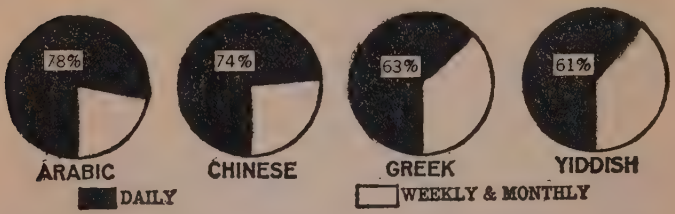
PROPORTION OF DAILIES TO OTHER PERIODICALS OF CERTAIN RECENT IMMIGRANT GROUPS

	DAILIES	OTHERS	RATIO
Greek	2	13	15
Yiddish	12	24	50
Armenian	3	6	50
Albanian	2	2	100
Chinese	4	3	133
Syrian (Arabic)	5	3	166
Japanese	11	4	275

Circulation figures corroborate this deduction. In every case where over half the circulation is that of dailies, the press belongs to one of the exotic groups. The following diagram shows the per cent of circulation

of the exotic journals having the largest proportion of daily circulation:

DIAGRAM I. — CIRCULATION OF THE JOURNALS OF THE "EXOTICS" BY FREQUENCY OF ISSUE



Another natural group is composed of the earlier agrarian immigrants—the Scandinavians, Bohemians, and the Germans, with whom the French and Spanish may, for the purposes of this comparison, be classed.

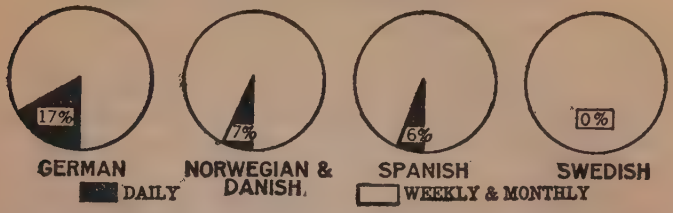
TABLE XII

PROPORTION OF DAILIES TO OTHER PERIODICALS OF EARLIER AGRARIAN GROUPS

	DAILIES	OTHERS	RATIO
Norwegian-Danish	2	51	4
Spanish	5	94	5
German	29	247	12
Italian	11	87	13
French	8	38	21
Czech (Bohemian)	9	42	21

Whenever over half the circulation is that of the weeklies and monthlies, the press belongs to the settler or colonist group.

DIAGRAM II.—CIRCULATION OF JOURNALS OF "SETTLER" AND "COLONIST" GROUP BY FREQUENCY OF ISSUE



Finally, there are the migrant industrials, who are principally engaged in the big, fundamental mining and manufacturing industries.

TABLE XIII

PROPORTION OF DAILIES TO OTHER PERIODICALS OF THE "MIGRANT INDUSTRIAL" GROUP

	DAILIES	OTHERS	RATIO
Ukrainian	1	9	11
Hungarian	3	24	13
Italian	11	87	13
Russian	2	9	22
Polish	15	61	25
Slovenian	3	11	27
Slovak	6	22	27
Croatian	2	7	28
Rumanian	1	3	33
Lithuanian	4	12	33
Finnish	6	16	38
Serbian	2	5	40

A certain number of language groups maintain no daily papers. The most important of these is the Swedes. The others are: the Portuguese, Dutch, Belgian-Flemish, Lettish, Welsh, and Persian.

One reason daily papers are more numerous among the recent than among the earlier immigrants is that

the recent immigrants are not able to read the English papers. Under these circumstances the foreign-language press is a medium of contact and communication with the outside world. In the case of the earlier immigrants, particularly the Scandinavians and Germans, the immigrant press is rather a means of maintaining contact and communication in the immigrants' community.

Another reason for the disproportionately large number of daily papers among the recent immigrants is the fact that they are predominantly city dwellers and that they live in compact urban colonies. Under these conditions life moves faster than in the country, more news is made every day, and a knowledge of it is more necessary to success.

TYPES OF PUBLICATION

Motives of publication are also significant. The foreign-language press is predominantly a commercial press. In the well-established immigrant press, whether old or new, the circulation of the commercial papers is much greater than the circulation of the propagandist papers and organs. This fact is evident in Table XIV and Diagram III.

TABLE XIV

CIRCULATION OF TYPES OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE JOURNALS FOR CERTAIN IMMIGRANT GROUPS

NATIONALITY	TOTAL	PER CENT		
		Commercial	Organ	Propaganda
Italian	691,353	93	6	1
German	1,545,104	85	12	3
Polish	986,866	81	16	3
Swedish	538,598	77	21	2
Yiddish	827,754	70	..	30
Finnish	125,397	51	2	47
Armenian	19,400	48	..	52

There are likely to be as many organs in any language group as there are national organizations. The number and variety of organs maintained by any immigrant group is a measure of the extent to which it is organized. While the Croatians have only one organ, the Poles have seventeen. The kind of organs, also, reveals the types of interests which are characteristic of a foreign-language group. The Poles have four nationalistic organs to one Socialist organ, but religion is the main line of cleavage. There are seven organs of Roman Catholic benefit societies and five which repre-

DIAGRAM III.—RATIO OF CIRCULATION OF COMMERCIAL PAPERS TO ALL PAPERS OF THE GERMAN, ITALIAN, AND POLISH PRESS

sent nonpartisan or independent benefit societies. With the Serbs nationalistic sentiment is the issue. The Jugoslav republic element has a society and a paper, the *Amerikanski Srbobran*, which is published in Pittsburgh, and the monarchial element has two societies, represented by the *Srbobran* of New York and the more recent *Svoboda*.

There is no very complete list of organs and propaganda papers in Ayer's. Organs like the Croatian *Zajednicar* are not listed because they do not take advertising, and the propaganda papers have, for the most part, small circulations. The religious organ, even when it has a circulation, is not always read. The German Pilgrim Press, 1612 Warren Avenue, Chicago,

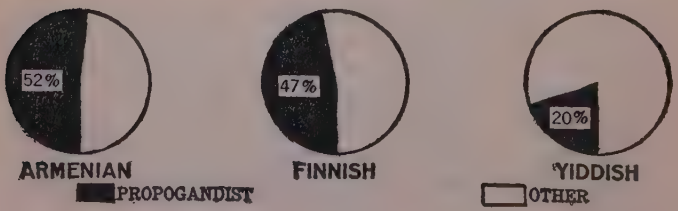
published a pamphlet about its paper, the *Kirchenbote* (Church Messenger), in which this fact is complained of:

One of our ministers said to me a few years ago, "I have people in my church to whose homes the *Kirchenbote* goes, but they do not read it." Last year a woman said to me, "I only read the death notices in the *Kirchenbote*." This year she did not renew her subscription. Naturally, one has no interest in a paper that one does not read. Why pay for a paper when one does not read it? One must not think ill of a woman who to-day takes no time to read something useful. The women of to-day must tat and embroider. But our ministers, too, do not read the *Kirchenbote* as they should. Speak to a minister sometime about some article that appeared in the *Kirchenbote* during the last three or four months, and you will soon find that they know absolutely nothing about it. Those are the ones, too, that usually find most to criticize about the paper.

Perhaps some one will say, "If the contents of the *Kirchenbote* were more interesting, I might be more willing to read it." Perhaps the fault lies with your taste rather than with the *Kirchenbote*. The appetite for many of the best earthly foods, also, has to be awakened and developed.

The propaganda papers are a factor in the press of the groups among whom Socialism is a group heritage.

DIAGRAM IV.—RATIO OF CIRCULATION OF PROPAGANDA TO ALL PAPERS OF THE ARMENIAN, FINNISH, AND YIDDISH PRESS



Curiously enough, it is the Armenians, Finns, and Jews who have the largest number of Socialist readers. The Armenians have seven commercial papers—and only two propagandist papers; but each of the two Socialist papers has a circulation of 5,000. The Finns have six Socialist papers and three I. W. W. papers, and the Jews have six radical papers—one anarchist, three Socialist, one communist party, and one I. W. W. paper.

INTEREST OF THE READERS

From the contents of the press it is possible to estimate the extent to which the immigrant peoples have actually taken root in the United States and accommodated themselves to the forms, conditions, and concrete purposes of American life.

If we represent the whole intellectual horizon of a language group by a circle, we may characterize the outlook of the different immigrant areas, with reference to their interest and participation in American life, by the segments of a circle. For example, the attitudes of the peoples we have called settlers—*i.e.*, the Germans and Scandinavians—might be defined by a circle in which an area of 300 degrees represented interests in American life and an area of, perhaps, 60 degrees represented interest in the home country.

On the other hand, the group of peoples already designated as exotic might be represented by a figure the converse of this, in which 60 degrees of the circle would represent interest in American life, and 300 degrees would represent interest in the home country. Between these would fall the migrant industrial and the colonists, among whom interest is, perhaps, equally divided between this and the home countries.

The chief distinction between the migrant industrials and the colonists is the fact that the former are mainly

mobile city dwellers, moving from one industrial center to another, living always under all the influences, excitements, and provocations of the cosmopolitan life of American cities. The colonists, on the other hand, are and remain, even when they go to the cities for work, provincial and small-town people, not sharing to any great extent in the social and industrial politics which occupy so largely the attention of the migrant industrial's press.

Among the immigrant peoples characterized as exotics all the conditions of life co-operate to limit participation in the common and cultural interests of American life. This is not true, however, of the Jews.

The group characterizations attempted in this chapter are by no means complete. They merely indicate predominant tendencies. The factors which determine the character of any individual group are only partly racial. For instance, the extent to which an immigrant settlement has been absorbed into our national life depends upon the number of generations born in this country, and the proportion of recent immigrants in the group.

This brief survey of the press cannot give a composite picture of the different language groups, with all their interrelations, similarities, and differences, which does justice to the actual situation. A detailed study of any one press reveals idiosyncrasies which can be understood only after an intimate study of the immigrants themselves.

XIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

A GREAT many foreign-language papers have been started, but a great many have died. It is easier to start a foreign-language than an English paper. Competition is not so keen and not so much capital is required. They die because they are not well conceived and not well conducted. The birth and death statistics of immigrant newspapers are a more or less accurate measure of the immaturity and instability of this press as a whole.

FLUCTUATIONS OF IMMIGRANT PRESS

Each year for the last thirty-five years there have been on an average 98 foreign-language papers started and an average of 91 stopped. As can be seen in Table XV, in most years the new ones have exceeded in number the ones that dropped out.

The number of papers started increased more than 60 per cent from 1914 to 1915, and remained high for three years. This was caused by the great eagerness for news of the warring countries of Europe on the part of our foreign-born and foreign-speaking immigrants. Being unable to read the English press they clamored for news in their own language, and upon this need the foreign-language newspaper thrived. After 1917 fewer papers started and more papers stopped, so that in 1918 we find that for every 10 papers started 14 have stopped. The following year the ratio of those stopping to every 10 that started increased to 40, although the following year they again fell to 15.8. An explana-

TABLE XV

ANNUAL BIRTH RATE AND DEATH RATE OF THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS, 1885–1920

YEAR	TOTAL PUBLICATIONS						GERMAN		EXCEPT GERMAN					
		STARTED		STOPPED		PER CENT STOPS TO STARTS				STARTED		STOPPED		PER CENT STOPS TO STARTS
	NUMBER	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		Number	Per Cent Of All	NUMBER	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
1884	794	...	...	...	...	...	621	78	173	...	...	...	...	...
1885	822	95	12	67	8	71	653	79	169	28	17	32	19	114
1886	884	136	15	74	9	54	679	77	205	65	32	29	14	45
1887	897	101	11	88	10	87	687	77	210	37	18	32	15	87
1888	942	134	14	89	10	66	717	76	225	57	25	42	19	74
1889	984	139	14	97	10	69	735	75	249	66	27	42	17	64
1890	1,028	123	12	79	8	64	750	73	278	68	24	39	14	58
1891	1,053	100	10	75	7	75	763	73	290	45	16	33	11	70
1892	1,124	120	11	49	4	40	794	71	330	73	22	33	10	45
1893–94	1,170	119	10	73	7	61	796	68	374	78	21	34	9	43
1895	1,176	100	9	94	8	94	789	67	387	58	15	41	11	74
1896	1,181	126	11	121	10	96	787	67	394	75	19	68	17	90
1897	1,201	95	8	75	6	79	788	66	413	52	13	33	8	63
1898	1,179	94	8	116	10	81	781	66	398	48	13	63	16	131
1899	1,199	126	10	105	9	82	773	65	426	78	18	50	12	64
1900	1,168	58	5	94	8	162	750	65	413	27	7	40	10	148
1901	1,159	76	7	80	7	105	747	65	412	38	9	39	9	100
1902	1,158	52	5	58	5	112	737	64	416	28	7	24	6	86
1903	1,169	82	7	66	6	80	724	62	445	63	14	34	8	54
1904	1,178	90	8	81	7	90	721	61	457	62	14	50	11	81
1905	1,176	91	8	93	8	102	702	60	474	66	14	49	10	74
1906	1,183	82	7	75	6	91	693	59	490	64	13	48	10	75
1907	1,200	99	8	82	7	83	672	56	528	83	16	45	9	58
1908	1,183	89	8	106	9	119	656	56	527	67	13	68	13	100
1909	1,207	95	8	71	6	75	649	54	558	78	14	42	8	57
1910	1,198	70	6	79	7	113	634	53	564	58	10	52	9	90
1911	1,196	66	6	68	6	103	627	52	569	50	9	45	8	90
1912	1,209	83	7	70	6	84	603	50	606	73	13	36	6	49
1913	1,220	98	8	87	7	89	583	48	637	74	12	43	7	58
1914	1,231	82	7	71	6	87	564	46	667	68	10	38	6	56
1915	1,264	134	11	101	8	75	533	42	731	114	16	50	7	44
1916	1,277	117	9	104	8	89	519	41	698	111	16	72	10	65
1917	1,323	138	10	92	7	66	522	40	801	110	14	67	9	61
1918	1,295	72	5	101	8	140	483	37	812	63	8	52	6	83
1919	1,109	62	6	248	22	400	322	29	787	55	7	80	10	145
1920	1,052	99	9	156	14	158	276	26	776	94	12	105	13	112
Average	1,142	98	9	91	8	93	663	58	478	73	15	47	10	64

tion of this fluctuation must take into account the German papers which comprise so considerable and important a section of the foreign-language press.

In 1885 the German press comprised 79 per cent of all the foreign-language papers, and in 1920 it comprised 26 per cent. The two figures indicate roughly

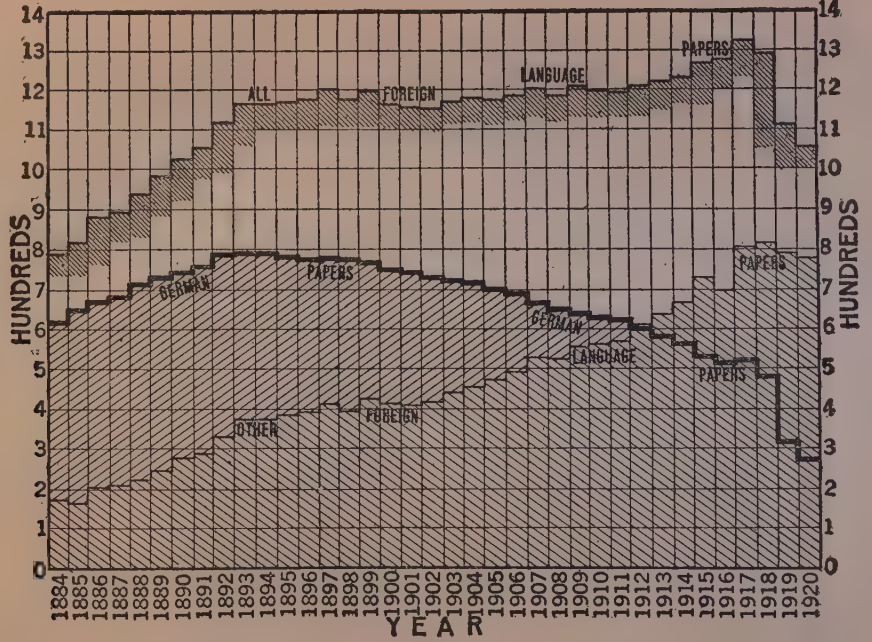


DIAGRAM V.—COMPARISON OF THE NUMBERS OF GERMAN PAPERS WITH ALL THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1884–1920

the history of the German press for the last thirty years. Although outnumbering all other foreign-language papers by large margins, it has been steadily declining. The decrease received considerable momentum from the war. In 1914 the German papers still represented 46 per cent of all foreign-language papers, while in 1920 they had shrunk to 26 per cent. The fact that the Germans have comprised the largest single foreign-speaking immigrant group explains in a large measure the place their papers hold among the foreign-language papers. The war has no doubt broken the forces sustaining a separate press for this group and its decline may safely be prophesied.

Because of the preponderate proportion of German papers, a fairer picture may perhaps be gained of the immigrant press if the German figures are deducted. Figures for the group excluding German are given in the preceding table and diagram from 1884 to 1920. For no year is so high a ratio of deaths to births found as in several of the years in the group including the German papers. On an average, for every 4 papers started, 3 stopped, making an average net gain of one paper in four. The explanation of the high ratio of deaths to births in the last two years is probably to be found in the financial stringency and the paper shortage which the small foreign-language paper was unable to weather, as well as in the lessened interest of readers after the war. It is too early to conclude that the foreign-language press as a whole is permanently declining. Certainly every evidence points to the decline of the German press, which comprises its largest portion.

RACIAL VARIATIONS

An analysis of the papers that have stopped and started in the different foreign-language groups shows

TABLE XVI

NET INCREASE, NUMBER AND RATIO OF PRINCIPAL FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS STARTED AND STOPPED, BY LANGUAGE, 1884–1920

LANGUAGE	NUMBER 1920	NET INCREASE	NUMBER 1884	1884–1920		PER CENT STOPS TO STARTS
				STARTED	STOPPED	
German	276	—345 [3]	621	1,197	1,542	129
Spanish [1]	118	83	35	417	334	80
Scandinavian	111	58	53	451	393	87
Italian	98	91	7	267	176	66
Polish	76	73	3	192	119	61
Bohemian	51	39	12	154	115	75
French	46	..	46	155	155	100
Slovenian [2]	42	41	1 [4]	75	34	45
Yiddish	39	33	6 [4]	95	62	65
Hungarian	27	26	1	67	41	61
Finnish	22	20	2 [4]	63	43	68
Lithuanian	16	15	1 [4]	38	23	65
Japanese	15	14	1 [4]	24	10	42
Greek	15	14	1	29	15	52
Dutch	13	2	11	35	33	94
Russian	11	10	1 [4]	26	16	62
Ukrainian	10	8	2 [4]	19	11	58
Total	1,052 [5]	258	794	3,444	3,186	92
Minus German	776	603	173	2,269	1,666	73

[1] Includes Portuguese. [2] Includes Slovak. [3] Decrease.
[4] Started since 1884. [5] Includes 66 "others."

definable and distinctive tendencies. (See Table XVI.)

From 1884 to 1920 there was a total net increase of 258 foreign-language papers, or 33 per cent. During this period 3,444 new papers were started, 3,186 went out of existence: for every 100 papers started, about 93 stopped. If the German papers are deducted, the net

increase is 603 papers, or 349 per cent, and for every 100 papers started only 73 stopped.

The German press is the only one which shows a net decrease in this thirty-six-year period. The French shows the same number of papers at the beginning and the end of the period. A comparatively small per cent of increase is found among the Dutch, Scandinavian, Spanish, and Bohemian papers. These language groups represent an earlier immigration than some others in the table. The majority of the press of the recent immigrants has come into existence since 1884, and strikingly large per cents of net increase are apparent, as for instance, in the Slovenian, Hungarian, and Polish press.

Again, the percentages of papers that have started and that have stopped are very large among the races of the newer immigration. They are also the races that show the smallest ratios of deaths to births.

Although in the majority of all cases over half as many papers die as start, the percentage of deaths is higher among the older races, such as the German, with a ratio of 129, the French with 100, the Dutch with 94, the Scandinavian with 87. The Japanese with 42 and the Slovenian with 45 show the lowest ratios. These figures all point to the fact that the press of the earlier immigration is in general declining, that of the newer is increasing or holding its own. There is apparent a definite relation between the foreign-language press and immigration.

THE FACTOR OF IMMIGRATION

The composition of the stream of immigration indicates in a general way the languages composing the immigrant press. In the main, the immigrant press is read by the more recent arrivals of each immigrant group. They have not yet learned the English language, and

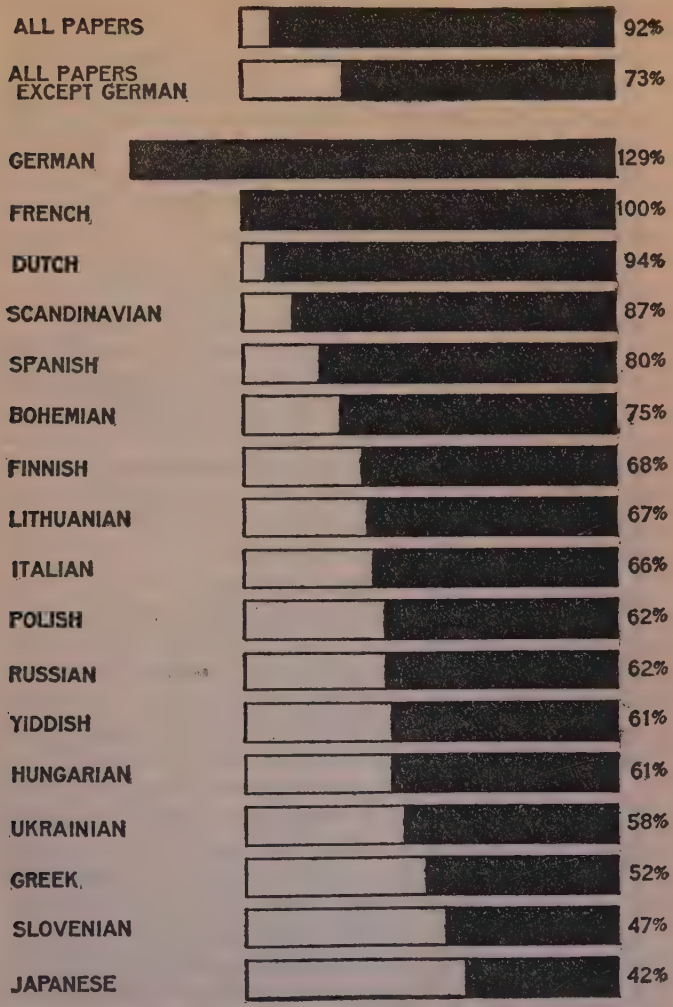


DIAGRAM VI.—PROPORTION OF DEATHS TO BIRTHS OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PAPERS, 1884–1920

because of this isolation find themselves particularly dependent upon their own tongue for news of this country as well as of their native country and their own people. Immigration, therefore, is one factor in the support of the immigrant press, although its importance varies with the different races. If immigration could be compared with circulation statistics, a more accurate estimate of their relationship could be obtained. Because of the incomplete circulation statistics, numbers of foreign-language publications must serve as a substitute.

The best figures for comparative purposes are the country-of-birth statistics from the 1900 census for countries where a single language is spoken, and the corresponding immigration by race since that time, as recorded in the Commissioner of Immigration reports. In Table XVII the percentage of increase of immigration can be compared with the percentage of papers started during the last twenty years.

There is, in the main, a close correspondence between the rank of the different countries in per cent of increase of immigration and papers started during these twenty years. The countries showing the highest proportion of immigrants show a high proportion of papers started; and conversely, the immigrants who are arriving in proportionately smaller numbers have started fewer papers.

It is, perhaps, surprising to many to find that of all the immigrants listed in the above table, the Greeks show the largest per cent of increase in arrivals since 1900 as well as in the papers started since that date. The Japanese and Italians follow closely in these respects. Among the Polish there has apparently been a comparatively greater increase in arrivals than in the papers started, and the reverse is true of the Finnish. But, taken as a whole, there is apparent in these comparisons a close relation between increase in papers started and increase in immigration.

TABLE XVII

COMPARISON OF THE INCREASE OF IMMIGRATION FROM CERTAIN COUNTRIES WITH INCREASE OF IMMIGRANT PAPERS OF CORRESPONDING LANGUAGES, 1901–1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN BORN				IMMIGRANT PAPERS [3]							
						STARTED 1901–1920			STOPPED 1901–1920			
	Number in United States [1] 1900	Number Arrivals [2] 1901–1920	Per cent Increase	Rank	Number 1901	Number	Per cent	Rank	Number	Per cent	Per cent Stops to Starts	Rank
Greece	101,282	449,217	444	1	1	29	2900	1	15	1500	52	2
Poland	383,510	1,347,886	352	2	41	122	298	6	85	207	70	3
Japan	67,744	216,444	320	3	2	'24	1200	2	10	500	41	1
Italy	1,343,125	3,269,455	243	4	36	212	589	4	149	414	70	3
Spain, Mexico, Central and South America	253,987	431,699	170	5	41	239	583	5	178	435	75	6
Finland	129,680	194,412	150	6	6	47	783	3	33	550	70	3
Netherlands	172,534	171,142	99	7	19	20	105	10	25	132	125	10
Bohemia	156,999	136,498	87	8	44	71	161	7	64	146	90	7
France, Canada [4]	502,501	290,129	58	9	44	66	150	8	69	157	105	8
Germany	2,813,628	1,043,744	37	10	747	379	51	11	850	138	271	11
Scandinavia	1,250,733	244,722	20	11	128	163	127	9	179	140	110	9

[1] *Twelfth Census of United States.*
[2] Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.
[3] Ayer's *Newspaper Annuals.*
[4] Includes only those speaking French.

A further indication that there is a definite relation between the supply of immigrants and their press is to be found in the ratio of papers started to papers stopped. Among the races that are supplying the new immigrants we find the press most stable. The Japanese press stands at the top, showing that for every 10 papers started during the period, only 4 stopped. Among the Greek papers about half as many stopped as started, and the Polish, Italian, and Finnish press come next, with about 7 papers stopping out of every 10 papers starting. The Dutch, French, German, and Scandinavian, which are the groups with the lowest per cent of increase of arrivals, show the highest per cent of deaths to births.

Diagram VII shows the rank of the different countries with respect to the per cent of increase in immigration and the percentages of papers started and papers survived. There is a striking division of the countries into those from which the older immigration come and the newer, with a general correlation in their rank with respect to the three facts.

In Table XVIII are listed the number of foreign-language papers for each language, from 1884 to 1920. In the fluctuations in the numbers of papers of each language group can be read something of the history of their press.

THE GERMAN PRESS

The German press has consistently held first place in the number of publications since there have been press statistics. The German immigration has come in three great waves, their peaks having been reached in 1854, 1873, and 1882, with decided recessions between. Since 1882 there has been a steady falling off, so that although they still comprise our largest foreign-speaking group they rank only third in number of arrivals since 1900,

TABLE

NUMBER OF PAPERS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN TH

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893–1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	19
Total	794	822	884	897	942	984	1,028	1,053	1,124	1,170	1,176	1,181	1,201	1,179	1,199	1,163	1,159	1,1
Total Less German	173	169	205	210	225	249	278	290	330	374	387	394	413	398	426	413	412	4
Albanian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Arabic	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	...
Armenian	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	...
Belgian-Flemish	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Bohemian	12	15	21	19	23	20	23	24	28	33	32	35	35	36	47	44	44	
Bulgarian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Chinese	....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	4	3	3	3	4	
Croatian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	2	
Finnish	....	2	3	3	4	3	5	4	6	5	4	4	3	4	6	8	6	
French	46	37	45	48	45	44	44	44	51	47	49	48	50	50	49	49	44	
German	621	653	679	687	717	735	750	763	794	796	789	787	788	781	773	750	747	7
Greek	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Hebrew [1]	....	....	....	....	....	6	7	7	11	14	16	16	13	15	14	16	16	
Hollandish	11	13	11	12	13	13	14	14	16	19	19	18	18	17	17	18	19	
Hungarian	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	3	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	
Italian	7	6	5	7	9	12	11	13	14	15	17	24	29	29	36	35	36	
Japanese	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1	2	
Lettish	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Lithuanian	....	1	1	....	....	....	1	1	2	3	4	5	5	5	6	6	5	
Persian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Polish	3	4	6	5	10	13	15	16	17	22	24	33	34	37	40	39	41	
Portuguese [2]	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	3	3	3	3	5	4	4	4	3	
Rumanian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Russian	....	....	....	1	1	1	1	1	.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Scandinavian	53	54	63	61	75	84	96	104	117	135	137	131	139	129	131	127	128	1
Serbian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	
Slovenian	....	....	....	1	1	1	.....	.....	3	4	6	8	8	8	7	7	7	
Slovak [3]	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Spanish	35	29	42	45	36	43	49	48	48	56	60	53	57	48	47	39	41	
Ukrainian	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Welsh	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	

[1] Yiddish included. [2] Included under Spanish until 1892 [3] Included under Slovenian until 1905. [4] Includes 9 "other."

NITED STATES FOR EACH YEAR, 1884–1920

1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
1,169	1,178	1,176	1,183	1,200	1,183	1,207	1,198	1,196	1,209	1,220	1,231	1,264	1,277	1,323	1,295	1,109	1,052
445	457	474	490	528	527	558	564	569	606	637	667	731	698	801	812	787	776
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	5	6	4
2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	7	10	10	13	11	8	13	12	10	8
.....	2	2	5	7	6	4	5	5	7	5	5	6	7	7	7	8	9
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	3	3
44	45	43	42	48	50	55	51	44	47	52	52	55	61	63	62	60	51
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	4	5	5	5	5	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	6	6	7
3	3	2	3	4	3	4	8	8	9	11	11	16	16	15	13	10	9
12	11	11	11	16	15	16	15	18	16	18	16	18	18	20	20	21	22
45	37	41	41	36	32	33	34	32	35	36	43	45	46	45	43	41	46
724	721	702	693	672	656	649	634	627	603	583	564	533	519	522	483	322	276
1	1	1	2	7	9	8	8	9	14	12	10	16	16	16	18	19	15
17	19	18	18	17	17	19	21	22	23	23	31	38	37	44	45	43	39
17	18	17	16	16	16	18	21	20	19	18	19	19	19	17	17	16	13
6	5	7	7	6	8	10	12	9	8	15	19	21	20	24	27	26	27
42	46	57	63	71	76	75	73	73	77	84	86	96	93	103	110	103	98
4	4	5	2	3	5	9	9	11	12	13	16	16	18	17	18	16	15
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	3	4	4	4	4	1	2
6	7	8	10	10	10	11	11	14	14	14	14	18	16	19	17	17	16
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	1
45	48	44	42	53	46	45	51	48	56	61	61	68	71	77	78	80	76
5	6	6	7	6	8	9	8	10	10	13	14	12	16	17	16	17	18
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	5	5	4
3	3	3	1	2	2	4	4	9	7	5	5	8	8	11	14	13	11
123	133	134	135	138	146	149	139	132	128	129	131	134	130	132	126	119	111
1	1	1	1	1	.....	1	1	2	2	6	7	9	11	9	8	7	7
11	13	4	6	7	7	8	7	8	10	11	11	10	10	11	14	14	14
.....	.....	9	9	9	10	14	16	17	15	13	18	19	21	24	24	27	28
51	46	52	58	61	51	52	55	58	72	68	64	73	88	84	87	86	100
.....	.....	.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	6	7	12	11	9	9	10
3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

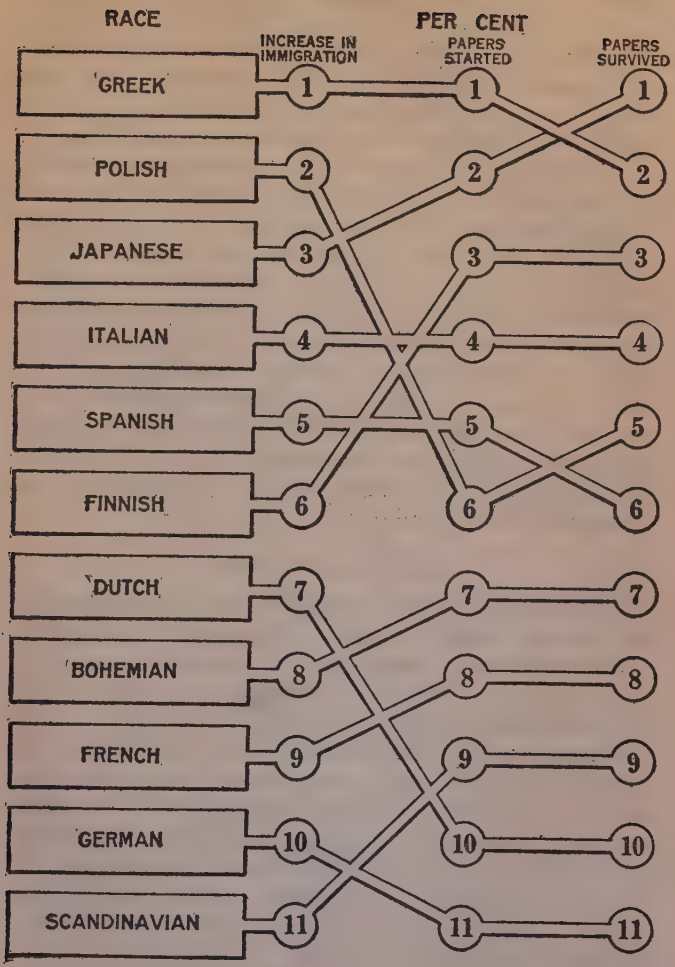


DIAGRAM VII.—RANKS OF RACES IN PER CENT INCREASE IN IMMIGRATION, PER CENT OF PAPERS STARTED, AND PER CENT OF PAPERS SURVIVED, 1901–1920

listed in Table XVII. The German immigrants have been readers, and also established strong rural communities, so the large number of small rural papers have been maintained for a long succession of years.

The largest number of German papers are reported for 1893–94, but the decline since then has been much slower than the decline in immigration. Since 1900, 376 new papers have started, but so large a number have stopped that the German press may soon relinquish first place with respect to numbers of papers. According to Paul Mueller, editor of the largest German daily, the *Abendpost*, of Chicago, the German press cannot last as a commercial enterprise unless there is post-war immigration. However, the German press has outlasted German immigration more tenaciously than the press of other foreign-speaking groups has persisted after their immigration peak.

SCANDINAVIAN PRESS

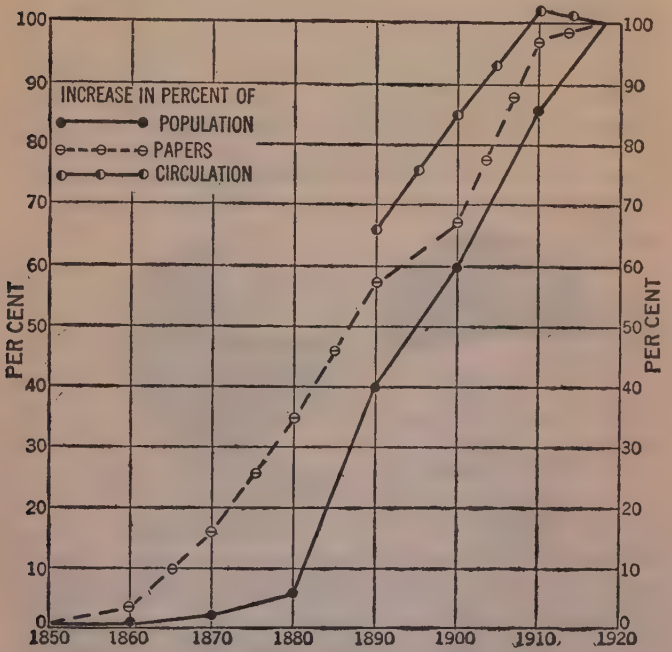
The combined Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish papers held second place in number of publications in 1920. The Scandinavian races show the smallest per cent of increase in number of immigrants since 1899. Their great immigration was in the last two decades of the last century, the peak being 1882, as in the German immigration. It was in this period that their press made great strides. In 1884, according to Ayer's, there were 53 Scandinavian papers, and in 1894 there were 135. Although in 1909 there were 149 papers, the Scandinavian papers maintained a fairly steady level until after the war. Since then their number has been declining, according to Ayer's.

LIFE HISTORY OF THE NORWEGIAN PRESS

Although it is not possible to secure more accurate data about the Scandinavian press as a whole, the most

nearly complete statistics on any immigrant press were compiled for the Norwegian press by the Rev. O. M. Norlie, in the *Congregational Calendar*,[1] published in 1918 by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. This

DIAGRAM VIII.—COMPARISON OF THE PER CENTS OF INCREASE OF THE NORWEGIAN POPULATION, PRESS, AND CIRCULATION, 1850–1920



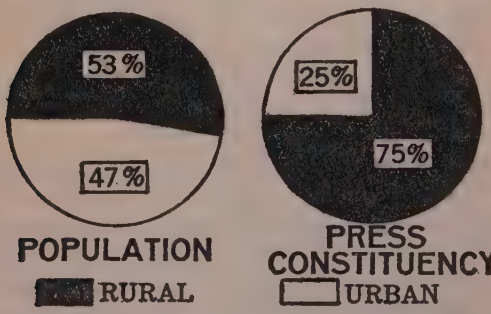
shows the strength and location of the Norwegian Lutheran congregations and of the Norwegian community. Mr. Norlie's statistics make it possible to get

[1] Rev. O. M. Norlie, "Study of the Norwegian Press," (manuscript.)

a picture of the entire life-and-death history of a foreign-language press, as they include all the Norwegian papers that have been started in the United States.

The struggle for existence of the Norwegian press is not typical of every foreign-language press. The Norwegians are perhaps the most rural of the settler groups, while the newer immigration is urban and migratory. But just because the Norwegians are an older immigration who already have a first, second, and third generation in the United States, all of whom have learned to read the American papers, the relation between the population and the press is a matter of interest (see Diagram VIII). Although the Norwegian press goes

DIAGRAM IX.—DISTRIBUTION OF NORWEGIAN POPULATION AND PRESS READERS IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES



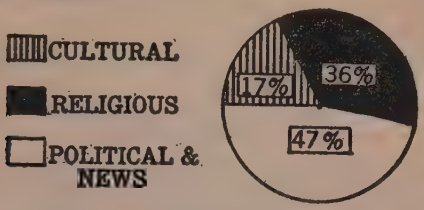
back to 1847, it has so far shown no tendency to decrease, according to Norlie, who includes many papers not covered by Ayer. During the period between 1847 and 1918 there were 458 Norwegian papers started, of which 115 were in existence in 1918, practically the maximum number at any time. This makes a total of 343 deaths.

Many Norwegian immigrants drifted into the rural counties of Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. Min-

nesota has the largest number of Norwegian papers and the largest percentage of living papers.

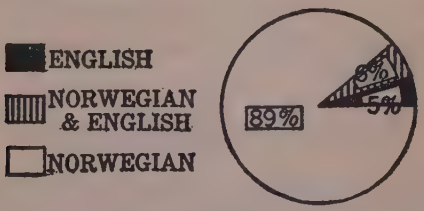
It is among the rural population that the Norwegian papers are read. Although only 53 per cent of the Norwegian population was rural, 75 per cent of the press circulation was in rural communities in 1906.

DIAGRAM X.—DISTRIBUTION OF NORWEGIAN PAPERS AMONG THREE CLASSES



The Norwegian press is not predominantly commercial. The interest of a settler press centers in local and religious news. The Norwegians and other Scandinavian groups no longer depend primarily for their news of the world on the Norwegian press. They get

DIAGRAM XI.—CIRCULATION OF NORWEGIAN PAPERS BY LANGUAGE OF PAPERS



that from reading American newspapers. Only 49 per cent of the Norwegian papers deal with politics and current news, and 36 per cent are religious papers; 17 per cent are cultural and reform.

As so many Norwegians can no longer read the old language or cannot read it easily, some of the Norwegian papers are printed in both English and Norwegian and some are now printed entirely in English. This change is usually made first by the church publications, which do not want to lose their hold on the younger generation.

Mr. Norlie's statistics show that the number of Norwegian papers and the circulation, at least for the war period, have not decreased. According to Ayer, however, who does not include the religious organs, the commercial Norwegian press is not growing.

SPANISH PRESS

The Spanish press, without the Portuguese, ranked third in the number of publications in 1920. It had 35 publications in 1884 and has shown a fairly steady increase since that time. It reached 72 in 1912 and has maintained this high number, reaching 100 in 1920. This trend has followed the immigration fairly closely. Spanish immigration, chiefly from Mexico, began to increase appreciably in 1907, with over 10,000, reached over 17,000 in 1917, and over 27,000 in 1920. This is apparently a group whose press responds rapidly to increased numbers of immigrants speaking Spanish. The press is closely related in both numbers and locality to its constituency.

ITALIAN AND POLISH PRESS

The Italian and Polish language groups show parallel developments. The amount of immigration for both ranks high, and has been steadily increasing in this century. Both reached their peak at about the same time that the war broke out in Europe. With the increase in immigration has come a steady and consistent

increase in the numbers of publications. In 1884 there were 7 Italian and 3 Polish publications, and in 1920 the Italian, with 98, still exceeded the Polish, with 76.

BOHEMIAN PRESS

The Bohemian group had 51 publications in 1920, ranking sixth in this respect. This group has had comparatively few immigrants arriving in the last twenty years. Since race records have been kept, the number reached the peak in 1906, when more than 12,000 Bohemian immigrants arrived. Although there is no way of isolating the number previous to 1899, the Bohemian immigration was an early one, and papers have been maintained consistently for a longer period of time than among many other groups. Starting with 12 in 1884 there has been a steady development, which reached 51 in 1920. This press represents one of the older racial groups which, probably, will support a foreign-language press less and less.

THE FRENCH PRESS

The French press stands next to the Bohemian press, with 46 publications in 1920. Although it shows a slight decrease since 1900 it has, on the whole, maintained a fixed level. There were 46 publications in 1884, and although there was a slight decline in the number from 1907 to 1913, with the war the number increased, until 46 was again reached.

In 1908 the stream of the French-speaking immigration began to widen. It did not decrease as much as many groups during the war, and reached its peak in 1920 when more than 27,000 French-speaking people came into the country. The major portion of this number has come from Canada, and the new influx of

French-speaking immigrants no doubt accounts for the revival of the French press in the last decade.

THE HEBREW AND YIDDISH PRESS

The Hebrew and Yiddish press combined ranks eighth with 39 papers, although the Hebrew race is represented by one of the largest groups of immigrants admitted to this country. The Yiddish press was not recorded separately in Ayer's until 1914, when 30 Yiddish papers were recorded and 1 Hebrew. The first Jewish papers (6) were recorded in 1889, and since then there has been a steady increase. During this period Yiddish, as a written language, has developed to meet the needs of the great immigration of Jews. The Jewish press includes some big daily papers with very large circulations, so that while not extensive in numbers, through its wide circulation it reaches a high proportion of its people. It has the largest circulation next to the German press of any foreign-language press.

DEPENDENCE ON IMMIGRATION

The data all point to the fact that the foreign press is a phenomenon of immigration. If there were no non-English-speaking arrivals, in a few years there would be no immigrant press. Since it is fed by new arrivals, its existence will largely depend upon our immigration policy. Inevitably, as the older immigrants learn the language of the country their foreign-language press will be replaced by the English press.

The closeness with which the press follows immigration varies with the different races and the many factors involved. The German press showed itself particularly tenacious for a long period of years after the peak of German immigration had been reached. The French

press seemed to maintain a relatively steady position in spite of wide variations in numbers of immigrants. The more recent Slavic and other groups seem quickly to have established their presses as the tide of their immigration rises.

The quality and characteristics of each group, as well as the numbers of immigrants, will undoubtedly affect its press. Whether they become urban or rural dwellers, whether they enter stationary or transient occupations, whether they are accustomed to read or not, all will influence their reliance upon and support of their own press. The outstanding fact is, there must be a non-English-speaking nucleus or the foreign-language press is without a constituency.

XIV

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

From the struggle for existence among immigrant newspapers, the commercial paper, the paper conducted for the purpose of making money, will be seen to emerge triumphant.

The daily newspaper, as at present organized, is mainly a device for capturing and centering public attention. Since the telegraph and the telephone have converted the world into a vast whispering gallery, there is no limit to the materials from which a newspaper can be made. The problem of editing, therefore, is largely a matter of selection. Out of all the events that happen and are recorded every day by correspondents, reporters, and the news agencies, the editor chooses certain items for publication which he regards as more important or more interesting than others. The remainder he condemns to oblivion and the waste basket. There is an enormous amount of news "killed" every day.

Having selected the news from which he proposes to make the next morning's journal, the editor then grades each item according to its importance. Some of it he has rewritten in order to put it in a more striking and attractive form. Much of it he condenses, according to the interest and importance he conceives it to have at the hour of publication. As all news has merely relative value, the space which an item is destined to occupy, its position on the page, and the size of the headline which will announce it are not finally determined until the paper goes to press. The relative

value of every item that eventually goes to make up the contents of a daily paper changes every hour of the day, as new information reaches the editor's desk which compels him to modify his earlier estimates. Thus, during the whole time that a newspaper is in preparation, every single item that goes to make it is involved in a struggle for existence with every other item. Every single item is in competition with every other item, first for mere existence and then for position and status in the paper as it is finally printed. News that held a place of importance in the early editions is relegated to the back pages or thrown away altogether—"killed," in the later editions.

The ideal arrangement which every managing editor aims to achieve is one in which, in every issue of the paper, there shall be one, and not more than two, pieces of big news, something that will focus the attention of readers and make the topic of their conversation for the day of issue. If one paper should have an item of news that commanded the attention of the public, and a rival and competing paper did not have that same item, that would be a "scoop," and a "big scoop" is a catastrophe for the paper that is "scooped." In the long run, the fate of reporters, correspondents, the editor, and even the paper itself, is determined by the ability of editors and reporters to get the news in competition with the reporters and editors of other papers in the same class and appealing to the same public.

The newspaper may be said to perform, for the public and the "public mind," the function of attention in the individual. The individual is assailed by innumerable stimulations. Attention intervenes as a selective mechanism to determine at every moment the relative importance of each one of these stimulations. Most of them are wholly inhibited and thrust out of consciousness altogether. Some one or two get represented

in the focus of consciousness in the form of mental images. The remainder are pushed back into the margin of consciousness, where they occupy a position and exercise an "influence" that is subordinate to those represented in the focus of consciousness. In the case of the newspaper and the public, news items play the role of mental images in the individual, and publication and publicity perform a function for the community analogous to that of consciousness in the individual. The press, in so far as it succeeds in capturing and centering the public attention, becomes an organ of social control, a mechanism through which the community acts, so far as the community can be said to act. It is this that defines the function of the press and makes its role in the community intelligible.

It is thus apparent that in selecting his materials the editor is not as arbitrary and willful as is popularly assumed. He chooses what he knows will interest his public. In this way the public exercises a control over the form and content of the press which, in the long run, is considerable.

Evidently the commercial press has discovered the kind of reading matter the majority of the newspaper public wants. This press emphasizes the news as such. The situation is somewhat different with the two other forms of journals—*i.e.*, organs, and journals of opinion or propaganda papers.

ORGANS

The circulation of an organ is frequently guaranteed by membership in an organization. In the strict sense of the word, an organ is not a newspaper at all; it is merely an administrative device for carrying on the work of a society or an institution. Every institution, political organization, or business finds it convenient,

when it has attained a certain size and a certain complexity of organization, to maintain a journal. Such a publication becomes at once a medium of communication and a means of maintaining morale. Among the immigrant peoples this point is reached whenever an organization—religious, fraternal, nationalistic—ceases to be a mere local and becomes a national institution. The readers of an organ are held by interest in a common business.

JOURNALS OF OPINION

Closely related to the organs are the propagandist papers, of which the best examples are the Socialist and radical journals. These papers are likewise called "organs," but there is this distinction between a political and propagandist paper and an organ in the strict sense of the term. The propagandist paper is seeking circulation; it is constantly seeking new readers outside the circle it represents. It is addressed, therefore, not primarily to the members of the organization or the party it represents, but to the public. It is seeking new readers because new readers mean new supporters of the party or the cause for which the paper exists. The Jewish Daily *Forward* (mentioned in Chapter IV) is a good example of the propagandist press.

The propagandist paper does not depend, like the organ, on business interests, but on intellectual interests, which are more tenuous and more difficult to organize. In these papers the editorials—that is to say, the comment upon and interpretation of the news, are relatively more important than the news. But opinions are devisive, and the journal that emphasizes opinions usually becomes the spokesman of a party or a clique, and thus makes room for another paper representing an opposing party. In that case, they divide the reading public between them. Not infrequently

party papers are able to gain circulation by creating interest in a conflict. But opinions are unstable, and discussion prospers only where there is division. As new schools of opinion arise they demand new journals to represent them.

The propagandist press, although it includes a few nationalist papers, is almost wholly radical. There were, during the war, as many as 240 radical papers published in the American language, and there are not half a dozen journals of opinion for the more conservative. But while the radical papers are many, the circulation is usually small. Intellectual interest seems to be productive rather of a by-product of unrest than of a conspicuous attainment of prosperity. Radical opinion is always that of a minority, and the smaller the minority the more radical the paper.

The *Dziennik Ludowy*, a Polish Socialist daily, which was interested in the nationalistic issue during the war, and was the most important of the papers that supported Pilsudski, has a circulation of 22,050. The *Robotnik Polski*, established in 1895, represents the more radical element—the Polish miners of Pennsylvania. It is now a communist paper, and has a circulation of only 4,000. Also, the life of the radical paper is apt to be brief. Of the Polish Socialist papers which have gone out of existence, the *Lila* lasted two years, the *Postem Lila* three years, and the *Naprzod* five years.

The editorial experiences of Miroslav Sichinsky, a Ukrainian intellectual, political refugee, and newspaper man, are characteristic. They illustrate the instability of the propagandist press, the ease with which new papers come into existence, and the suddenness with which they disappear. They illustrate, also, the shifts and changes to which an immigrant intellectual is sometimes driven in order to keep his balance in a changing world. They are interesting, also, because

they illuminate an interior, and offer a glimpse into the inner life of a language group that is otherwise almost completely closed to us.

I came to America in the autumn of 1914, a political refugee from eastern Galicia. . . . I had never had any connection with newspapers in Europe, except to write a few articles in my student days for the Ukrainian newspaper *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom) in Lemberg.

Shortly after my arrival in this country I had dealings with the publishers of *Svoboda*, the largest Ukrainian paper in the United States, issued triweekly in Jersey City. I was not a member of the staff, but I co-operated with the editors in another matter. Presently the paper began to assume a very marked pro-Austrian and pro-German attitude, which seemed to me unfortunate. They published editorials sharply criticizing American materialism, and praising the German stand. I remember in particular one laudatory article about an Austrian archduke who had petted a Ukrainian child during a visit to Galicia. After this I tried to convince the editors of *Svoboda* that they were making a mistake, but without success. At a public meeting in Chicago I spoke openly against the Austrian government because of the massacres of the Ukrainian population which it had sanctioned in eastern Galicia. *Svoboda* replied, indirectly attacking me. Our relations became more strained, and soon we were working entirely at cross-purposes. I and my associates in the Ukrainian Federation continued to attack the Austrian regime, and *Svoboda* began attacking us. Eventually a meeting of the general committee of the Ukrainian Federation was called, and the difficulties were thrashed out. One of the recent acquisitions to the staff of *Svoboda* was shown to be in the pay of the Austrian Minister of War. The other editors were surprised and chagrined over this disclosure. The only excuse of the offending person was that "I was a soldier and had to obey." It seemed to be understood that *Svoboda* would change its policy. But no such change came. . . . I, therefore, came to feel that it was desirable to found another paper, which should present a different point of view.

In the summer of 1916 I obtained control of a small Socialist weekly in Cleveland, Ohio, called *Robitnyk* (the Worker). My editorial ambition was to bring all of the more progressive elements in Ukrainian circles in America into contact with the work of the Ukrainian Federation, of which I was vice-president. We did not wish to work against *Svoboda*, but aimed to put our paper on an entirely realistic basis. My aim was threefold: (1) to secure war relief; (2) to provide education for Ukrainian immigrants in this country, both temporary and permanent comers, and (3) to spread publicity, interesting the people in liberty for Ukraine. . . . *Robitnyk* was affiliated with the American Socialist party, but I desired not to take too narrow and partisan a point of view, preferring rather to be educational and explanatory. To this end I made every effort to cultivate the acquaintance of American journalists and men of affairs, and endeavored to be so conversant with American politics and economics that I could feel and think along American lines. My friendship with native-born Americans enhanced my hostility toward the pro-German attitude, because I found that all the men whom I admired and whose opinion I respected were becoming steadily more and more anti-German.

I had rather hard sledding at first. My weekly stipend was about eighteen dollars. I wrote about democracy, capitalism, the causes of the war, and so on. The paper grew quickly. On May 1, 1916, it was a weekly with 300 subscribers. In February, 1917, it was a daily with 3,000 circulation. The majority of our readers were satisfied, but the more radical Socialists were not, because they thought it too mild and not revolutionary enough. There were others who thought I ought not to remain vice-president of the Ukrainian Federation while I was engaged in newspaper activities. A few weeks before the United States entered the war I began to advocate active participation of America in the conflict. Previous to that time the paper had stood for our neutrality.

One of my acts, which I suppose I shall have to record as a "mistake," was a review I wrote of Spargo's *Socialism and*

Atheism. It is true that many, perhaps most Ukrainian immigrants, identified Socialism with atheism. That caused a breach between the clerical class and the proletariat. By agreeing with Spargo and taking the stand that a man could believe in God, though a Socialist, I alienated many of both classes. For some reason this middle-ground position pleased neither party. A period of ill-feeling began, and I spent some time in New York working in behalf of the federation and its anti-German stand. I had the assistance of Mr. Semeshko, a professional journalist from Siberia, who had previously been on the staff of *Svoboda.* He helped to edit *Robitnyk.* A Ukrainian Tag Day was planned, and *Svoboda* opposed it, but it was carried through and netted a large sum for war relief. All this time I wrote for *Robitnyk,* but did not remain constantly in Cleveland.

In March, 1917, the federation started in New York a weekly paper called *Narod* (the People), with Mr. Nicholas Ceglinsky as editor. I became associate editor, and after two numbers Ceglinksy and I decided to exchange positions, he to go to *Robitnyk* in Cleveland—where his more radical attitude would probably please the readers of that journal—and I to remain in New York as editor of *Narod,* in which capacity I could more easily attend to my duties in the Ukrainian Federation. Unfortunately this transfer was not successful. Ceglinsky remained in Cleveland only a very short time and then turned *Robitnyk* over to new editors, under whose guidance it became steadily more radical in character.

On *Narod* I remained for ten weeks, but our attitude was too conservative to please the radicals and too anti-German to please the pro-German faction among the Ukrainians. I again made enemies by a long article on conditions in America, in which I told the truth about the labor situation in Cleveland, Newark, and other cities with which I was well acquainted. This was used by some of my opponents to get the police to prevent me from holding a federation meeting in Jersey City. . . . The more revolutionary of our subscribers were displeased with my article because it wound up with a peroration which was too pro-American and optimistic. Finally *Narod* was discontinued because we were not able to make both ends

meet, and I devoted myself wholly to the activities of the federation.

But I still cherished the idea of starting a newspaper. In the fall of 1917 I succeeded in interesting a good many people in the venture of establishing a co-operative printing shop in New York. At that time I was lecturing to Ukrainian audiences on historical subjects, and I used to spend my evenings in the library, reading on Greece and Rome, and my daytimes organizing the shop. I bought the machinery, peddled shares, and rented a place on East Seventh Street, New York, for the new concern. At first we merely published books and pamphlets. I myself became connected with the work of the Committee on Public Information in Washington, and the newspaper was delayed. But in December, 1918, a convention of the federation was held in Washington, money was raised, and we embarked immediately upon our largest newspaper attempt—the issue of *Ukrainska Gazeta*.

The first numbers of the *Gazeta* came out in January. The editor was Mr. Emil Revyuk, and he performed the functions of managing editor, city editor, and reporter. . . .Mr. Revyuk left the paper after about six weeks, and I became editor. Mr. Ceglinsky assisted, more or less officially. All of us had other work to do, and at times the paper languished. It also suffered because of the fact that many Ukrainian papers in this country are published in connection with fraternal organizations, and the money paid in for subscriptions goes nominally in the form of dues to these organizations. The result is that many individuals feel that they are getting their paper "free" in connection with the fraternal benefits, and look askance at paying out actual money for a newspaper subscription. Eventually the *Gazeta*, too, was discontinued because of lack of funds. This came in the fall of 1919. Since the close of the *Ukrainska Gazeta* I have not been engaged in newspaper work.[1]

The high birth rate and death rate of the foreign-language press is in the ranks of the propagandist

[1] Miroslav Sichinsky, *Editorial Experiences* (manuscript).

papers. The papers that survive have usually done so because they have shifted the emphasis from doctrine to news and have become commercial.

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS

The distinction between the commercial press and the other types of journalism is that the commercial press is primarily a business. The business of the commercial press is to sell advertising space. The value of advertising space is determined by the size and character of the circulation. The editors have found that if they print the news they get the circulation, so they print the news.

In the struggle for existence it is the commercial press that survives.

ORIGINS

The commercial press seems to have made its first positive appearance with the new immigration. In its origin it is connected, directly and indirectly, with the steamship agency and the immigrant bank. Both of these institutions are peculiar to peoples of the recent immigration.

In their efforts to find steerage passengers for their returning ships, the steamship companies have spread agencies all over the United States, wherever there is any considerable colony of immigrant peoples.

It is part of the routine of these agencies to secure the names and addresses of immigrants who may be looking forward to returning home or who might want to purchase tickets to send to members of their families. In any case, it is important to keep in touch with prospective customers. In addition to that, the steamship agencies advertise extensively in the foreign-language papers. Under these circumstances the steamship

agent often found it simpler, in the long run, to own his own paper. In that case the subscription list gave him the names of the persons with whom he wished to communicate, and the paper served the purpose of an advertising circular.

Usually the steamship agent is at the same time a banker—that is to say, he combines the business of selling steamship tickets with that of a money changer, who undertakes to send the earnings of the immigrant home. In 1910 there were 2,625 so-called immigrant banks in the United States, in which it is estimated that 94 per cent of all the steamship agencies in the United States were doing a banking business.

Even the casual observer readily learns to associate the term "immigrant bank" with the poster-bedecked office of the immigrant representative of steamship companies. In the mind of the immigrant the two are almost inseparable. To him the steamship agent is the sole connecting link with the fatherland. As the representative of well-known lines, he ascribes to the agent a standing and responsibility such as he has no cause to assign to any American institution. Nothing is more natural than that the immigrant should take his savings to the agent and ask that the agent send them home for him. Having made the start, it is natural that he should continue to leave with the agent for safe-keeping his weekly or monthly surplus, so that he may accumulate a sufficient amount for another remittance or for the purpose of buying a steamship ticket to bring his family to this country or for his own return to Europe. It is not long before the agent has a nucleus for a banking business, and his assumption of banking functions quickly follows. The transition is then complete—the steamship agent has become an immigrant banker.[1]

The steamship agent found a newspaper equally useful in his banking business.

[1] *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. xxxvii, 1911, pp. 212–213.

The part played by the alien press in spreading the propaganda of the immigrant banker is one worthy of serious consideration. In several large cities bankers own and publish newspapers ostensibly for the purpose of printing matters of interest to immigrant subscribers, but in reality for the purpose of exploiting the business of the proprietor. In one or two instances the oft-repeated advertisements of the latter are the only ones appearing in the issue. Many other newspapers, apparently without direct financial connection with immigrant bankers, are filled with the lavish advertisements of the proprietors of these concerns. Inasmuch as these banks are so numerous and such extensive advertisers, it follows that the publishers of these papers are not inclined to jeopardize this source of income by exposing in their columns the fraudulent practices of such well-paying patrons. For example, one banker advertises in 11 papers—4 Hungarian, 2 Polish, 3 Slovak, 1 Croatian, and 1 German. Furthermore, it is charged that many of them do not give due publicity to failures among bankers of this type, particularly those whose advertisements they have carried. What is of more consequence is the claim that the editors of some papers actively participate in silencing such affairs by offering plausible excuses for the disappearance or misconduct of the banker.[1]

SUCCESSFUL TYPES

The steamship ticket agent's newspaper, or what became his newspaper, was first of all merely an advertising sheet sent out to prospective customers. Eventually, the proprietor hired an intellectual, who edited the advertising sheet, wrote news items and editorials, and thus converted it into a regularly established newspaper. If the editor made a success of the paper he might, in course of time, become the proprietor. Frequently it was the other way. Some impecunious intellectual started a paper, but was unable to make it

[1] *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. xxxvii, 1911, pp. 288–289.

go, and the steamship agent and banker took it off his hands.

In 1910 an educated Rumanian, rather broken in health, came to the United States. On the advice of the immigration official, a Rumanian Jew, he collected two and three dollars from each of his friends, and set up a paper in New York City. He was always in debt, however, as he was not a good business manager, but he wrote well, especially when he was drunk. Mr. George Cumpanas, the owner of a steamship agency, came to his assistance as his financial partner and finally ousted him from the paper.

The publishing of the weekly, the *Desteaptate Romane*, is only an incidental factor in the business activities of Mr. Cumpanas. He has a restaurant, lodging house, and boarding house for Rumanians at 146 Seventh Avenue, New York City. When a Rumanian wishes to return to Rumania he can find explicit information in the editorials of the *Desteaptate Romane* about wiring Mr. Cumpanas, whose runner meets him at the train and conducts him to Mr. Cumpanas' boarding house.

Mr. Cumpanas does not charge anything for buying steamship tickets for the Rumanians, and he only charges them what the steamship companies would charge them. However, in exchanging American money into Rumanian money for the purpose of buying the steamship ticket he makes a profit of $50 on $100, and by exchanging American money into Rumanian and Italian money he makes a profit of $40 on $100.

Mr. Cumpanas cannot write very much himself. When he writes it is in the dialect of the Banat. The only thing that interests him in his paper are its advertisements of his businesses, his bank, his steamship agency, and its editorials. The content of the editorials which deal with the way Rumanians are swindled in New York by all sorts of people, he dictates to his editor. The editor at present is a young electrical engineer who has just landed in New York City. As he is from the kingdom of Rumania, Cumpanas has had to teach him to use certain words in the Transylvania dialect,

to which the Transylvania peasants in the United States are accustomed.

There is a first page of news which deals with Rumania. The engineer-editor said he supposed this was for the people "who were more sensible" and cared for that kind of news. The fiction of the paper, on the other hand, is very popular, and the paper receives many letters, saying that the reader subscribes to the *Desteaptate Romane* only because of the fiction. This fiction is written in the Transylvania dialect and deals with historical subjects. A good deal of verse is contributed by the readers.[1]

The most striking example of a newspaper that was started as an adjunct to a steamship agency and an immigrant bank is the *Narodni List* (National Gazette), the oldest, most popular, and widely read of the south Slavic daily papers in this country. The *Narodni List* was started in 1898 as a weekly paper, and in 1902 it became the first Croatian daily. At that time its editor, Frank Zotti, was doing a thriving business as a steamship agent and banker. He is reported to have owned and controlled at different times as many as eight different papers. One of these was the *Rail, Sail, and American Merchant Marine*, with which from 1901 to 1908 he fought the Hamburg-American Line. Among his other papers at this time was the *Slovenski Narod*, a Slovenian semiweekly; the *Gazzetta del Banchiere*, an Italian paper, and the *Robotnik*.

The *Slovenski Narod* was started in opposition to the *Glas Naroda*, published by Frank L. Dakser, a rival banker in New York. All these publications were carried on in the interest of Zotti's bank, and Zotti was known to the immigrants as "the King of the Croatians." In 1908 his bank failed, but Zotti managed to continue the publication of the *Narodni List*, and in spite of the scandal connected with the failure of the

[1] Notes of the translator.

bank and the losses it entailed to the 8,000 depositors, the paper has been successful.

The success of Zotti's paper is not due to its editorial policy, which is violent and personal, but to the fact that it is newsy, sensational, and written in language and concerning matters that a Croatian peasant can understand. The fact that its editor attacks violently and consistently all the ambitious intellectuals among the Croatians probably does not greatly distress the Dalmatian and Bosnian shepherds who constitute the bulk of its readers.

The paper is run on a purely business basis. The editorial department uses a style of its own to attract the uneducated mass of the people, the style being vulgar and personal. Aside from this method of getting circulation, it has a large number of traveling salesmen who solicit subscriptions directly. As to advertising, its rates are of the highest and it carries quite a substantial amount of advertising space.

The significance of the paper lies in its extreme chauvinistic Croatian nationalism and anti-Serbianism, which has always been the camouflage of the pro-Austrian papers and of individuals who did not have the courage to come out openly in favor of Austria.

The circulation of the paper is national. Its readers live all over the Union. They are mostly common laborers, who come from the remote mountainous parts of Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. They have no education to speak of; most of them have not even been in the normal school.[1]

The largest and most successful Italian daily in the United States, *Progresso Italo-Americano*, is distinctly a commercial paper. It was established in 1879 by Carlo Barsotti, not as a business enterprise, but because the editor of the only Italian paper then existing in New York did not, in Mr. Barsotti's opinion, pay

[1] Notes of the translator of the *Narodni List.*

enough attention to his—Barsotti's—communications. Barsotti, however, was not an intellectual, but a business man, and it was not long before he made the independent discovery that a newspaper could be made to pay. Presently Barsotti started a bank. The bank failed, but the newspaper continued, and now has a circulation of 127,000, which is the largest circulation of any foreign-language daily in the United States with the exception of the Jewish *Forward*.

In 1880 only one Italian newspaper was published in New York—*Eco d'Italia*—when an enterprising and bold man, called Carlo Barsotti, decided to found a daily Italian paper. There were, at this time, about 25,000 Italians in New York. Barsotti, who was a Tuscan, was an interesting type of self-made man. Coming to America without money he earned his living by directing squads of Italians on the railroad. Finally, after changing his position many times, he and another Italian opened three or four lodging houses. These were divided each into a hundred rooms, which were rented at twenty-five cents a night. Barsotti became the sole proprietor.

Pietro Baldo, an Italian, who had murdered his wife, was condemned to death by a New York tribunal. A committee was formed with the purpose of having his sentence commuted. Barsotti's communications did not receive proper attention from the director of *Eco d'Italia*, and so Barsotti, irritated and surprised that the only Italian newspaper in America was so little concerned with the fate of a compatriot, decided to start a newspaper himself.

The newspaper was called *Progresso Italo-Americano*, and was begun in a small way. In New York there were not only no professional newspaper men, but it was even difficult to discover an Italian who could write his own language correctly. Several young men were engaged, but none of them had had any experience. Rossi was recommended to Barsotti by his employer. When he said he knew nothing about politics he was told that that was all the better. The paper had only four pages and two were to be devoted to recounting

important events happening mostly in Italy, the other two to advertisements. Rossi was paid fifteen dollars a week.

The offices of the newspaper were in Ann Street, on the top floor of an old building back of the New York *Herald*. There was one dark room, three rickety chairs, two tables, a broken stove, and a couch without sheets in a corner. "One was the editorial table; the other for the administration." Signor Pavia, who lived in the office, was business manager, secretary, administrator, and general factotum. He was an excavalry officer, who had been unfortunate, and was reduced to his present position. Neither he nor Rossi could translate English. They finally found some old papers published in Bologna and rehashed the news, changing the dates to suit themselves. On December 6, 1880, Rossi became editor of the paper. He had practically no one to help him. Barsotti, Pavia, and Polidori took charge of the administration and procured advertisements.

Soon Polidori traveled through the states procuring subscriptions; then a larger office was taken on Chambers Street. Among the typesetters was one Frenchman, one Spaniard, one Swiss, one Rumanian, one Canadian, and one American, so that English, French, and Italian had to be spoken. Rossi was given an assistant called Luigi Omedei, who had served as interpreter at Castle Garden. "His one fault was that he drank too much beer."

Eco d'Italia became also a daily paper. Signor Barsotti founded a bank at this time—"an official bank for the convenience of Italians who wanted to send money to Italy, or who needed steamer tickets." [1]

Among the newspapers that fall in the class with the commercial papers, in so far as they are business enterprises published mainly as advertising mediums, is the oldest existing paper in Arabic, the *Al-Hoda* (Guidance).

The *Al-Hoda*, a paper in the Arabic language, was established in New York in 1898. At that time the Syrian emigrants in Washington Street were trading on their association

[1] Notes of the translator.

with the Holy Land by selling rosaries and saints' pictures. They were people from Mt. Lebanon, Roman Catholics or Maronites, whose village customs have not been subjected to the disintegration of a city.

The *Al-Hoda*, being the oldest of the Arabic papers, became the spokesman of this group of Syrians and is still the largest paper with a Maronite public. It is said that in 1905 the editor, Nahoum Mokarzel, the best Syrian journalist in the United States, decided to build up his circulation, and framed up a bitter controversy over religion with the publisher of the Greek orthodox paper. Both papers expanded as a result, just as the *Forward* and the other Yiddish papers did at the same period over the controversy about Jakob Gordin's plays. Some Greeks decided to kill Mokarzel for maligning the Greek orthodox church, but they never got to his office. They killed the first Maronite they chanced upon instead. The trick of using religious factionalism could not have been turned after 1905, when the urban emigration from Aleppo, Damascus, and Palestine began to pour in.

The *Al-Hoda* has perfect relevancy to the business interests of the Syrians. One-fourth of the paper consists of the "ads" of wholesale importers and exporters, retailers and clothing merchants. There are about three columns of music "ads," some naïvely flagrant patent medicine "ads," the usual "ads" of bank, steamship agencies, restaurants, groceries, boarding houses, and storage firms. The groceries make a specialty of Persian tobacco, which the men in the Brooklyn coffeehouses smoke.

The advertising claims reveal the fact that the *Al-Hoda* has a considerable circulation outside of the United States. Connections are sought with lost relatives, last heard of in Havana, Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, and elsewhere. There are quite a number of Mexican clothing and department store "ads," one of which announces the arrival of consignments of new silks and trinkets from Java. A relief commission begs the Syrians in the United States to vie with the Syrians in Argentine in sending money to Madeen.

Nahoum Mokarzel, the editor, supplies the reader with such news as will be interesting to the Maronites about the situa-

tion in the home country, which means not Syria, but Mt. Lebanon. Mt. Lebanon is inhabited by descendants of the Crusaders and permeated by the influence of French schools and Jesuitic colleges. Up to the present war it was unconquered mountain territory. Now the Turks have swept half the population away. There is a Mt. Lebanon League of Liberation, with branches all over the world, which seeks the independence of Syria under French protection. Naturally the paper favors French control instead of American, English, or Persian control.

The *Al-Hoda* is also pro-Zionist. The Mt. Lebanites are the only Syrian group with which the Zionists have taken the trouble to come to terms. As a result, the Roman Catholics support the Jews and the Jews the Roman Catholics.

One of the writers on Mr. Mokarzel's staff is a woman, the only Syrian woman journalist in the United States. When she was a girl of sixteen she first wrote to the paper criticizing the conduct of one of the priests. As soon as she had mailed the letter to the *Al-Hoda* office, she was very much ashamed of what she had done, and tried to get the post office to return it. Mr. Mokarzel, however, was pleased with her ability to write, and encouraged her. She proved to be very useful to him, for not only has she translated and written many historic romances, which are eagerly read by the women readers, but she has answered hundreds of letters from Syrian women and girls about family and love affairs.[1]

OPPORTUNISTIC POLICY

As soon as the editor or publisher conceives the idea that his publication is mainly a public forum for advertisers, and that the news columns exist mainly to make the paper read, he is likely to take a rather detached view toward the matter that appears in the news columns and on the editorial page, so long as it seems to be what the subscribers of the paper want to read. Under such circumstances the editorial policy

[1] Notes of the translator.

tends to become opportunistic rather than doctrinaire, and the paper seeks to keep before the wind of popular favor rather than buck against it. During the late war, when the wind shifted a good deal, it was the commercial papers that were willing and able to make the changes in direction that discretion and a dual loyalty, to America and the home country, seemed to require. The propaganda papers, particularly the Socialist papers that were controlled by fixed political dogmas, were not able to make the shift so easily, and many of them came under the ban of the censorship. The course of the Hungarian *Szabadsag* of Cleveland is typical of a commercial paper.

The *Szabadsag* was founded as a weekly in 1890 by E. T. Kohanyi, a young Hungarian journalist. He hailed from a family belonging to the small, untitled, and in latter years largely landless Magyar "gentry," and as far as possible always recruited his more intimate associates from among members of the same class. In Hungary this class forms the retinue of aristocracy and bureaucracy, and is the bulwark of conservative and chauvinistic Junker rule. It is bitterly opposed by the radical intellectuals, confined mostly to the Budapest middle class, and by the non-Magyar nationalities.

In the first years the *Szabadsag* had to fight a very severe struggle for existence. Kohanyi was almost penniless himself, and raised a few thousand dollars by issuing five-dollar shares. Two manufacturers of Hungarian origin, Mr. Theodor Kundtz and one Mr. Black, bought some of the stock; the rest was subscribed in small lots by Hungarian immigrants.

A year after the start Kohanyi moved with the paper, unencumbered by a plant, to New York City, but returned soon. A little later Kohanyi raised some money and repaid the entire stock. From that time on, until his death, Kohanyi always conducted the paper as an independent enterprise owned by himself. He is said to have combined ruthless and violent fighting methods with scrupulous honesty in regard to financial obligations, especially when dealing with Americans.

After many vicissitudes the increase of Cleveland's Hungarian population gradually improved the standing of the paper. Several smaller competitors were absorbed, and in 1906 the *Szabadsag* was transformed into a daily. Two years later Kohanyi bought out his strongest rival, the *Magyar Napilap* (Hungarian Journal), acquiring its 4,000 subscribers. It is held in local Hungarian circles that this stroke had "made" Kohanyi. As a matter of fact, within a few years the *Szabadsag* was considered, measured with Hungarian-American standards, a prosperous business enterprise, and has been one ever since.

As a typical representative of his race, and even more of his class, Kohanyi, of course, never became an American. There is ground to believe that he never even attempted to penetrate the real meaning of American ideas and ideals. Certainly he never inspired his associates, mostly new arrivals in this country, with the sort of Americanism that has made, to my knowledge, Scandinavian editors, for instance, so valuable from the standpoint of a more or less unconscious process of Americanization. I believe that with Kohanyi it was not a case of deliberate antagonism to American ideas at all, even less that of palpable old-country influence, but merely a matter of intellectual inelasticity and ingrained class bias. He had a certain romantic quality which was acclimatized as a sort of external, sentimental Americanism. This is a great deal more than can be said of his associates. Somebody has said of the editorial staff of the *Szabadsag* that it is a rock of refuge for shipwrecked Hungarian gentlemen from the old country, and to an extent this *mot* describes truly the brand of men from which Kohanyi usually chose his collaborators. On the whole, it can be said that the *Szabadsag*, up to America's entrance into the World War, was a Hungarian newspaper which happened to be published in the United States. Its overwhelming concern was for matters relating to the old country. In Hungarian politics it represented the reactionary, ultra-chauvinistic, anti-Austrian, and anti-Slav tendencies. Its outlook and general tone was at least thirty years behind the liberal dailies of Budapest. Although disguised behind a quasi-popular phraseology, it

transplanted and fought the battles of the class to which Kohanyi belonged.

It must be emphasized, however, that for the greater part of its career the *Szabadsag* was not the organ of a conscious, systematic foreign propaganda. It was certainly not the instrument of the Hungarian government. With Kohanyi his own business interest came foremost, Hungarian-American interests second, and the interests of the old country next. His business interest prompted him to follow the line of the least resistance by capitalizing the emotional luggage of the average Hungarian peasant immigrant. This was so much the easier for him, as by playing on the sentimental chauvinism of the lower-class Magyar he was merely continuing the old political game of his class in the home country.

But at the same time his business interest made him realize the bonds that linked him to the new fatherland. His prosperity depended on the increase of Hungarian immigration. Under the Hungarian law, emigration propaganda through the press is a misdemeanor, so that by conducting such propaganda the *Szabadsag* would have forfeited its circulation in the old country. Instead, Kohanyi sought to induce his readers to invite their relatives, through private letters, "over here." His endeavors were looked upon with disfavor by the Hungarian government.

I have dealt at such length with the personal characteristics of Kohanyi because I believe that in judging the foreign-language press Americans are too apt to leave the personal factor out of consideration. It is true that in the case of some of the foreign-born groups the vernacular press had been, perhaps, the most powerful barrier in the way of genuine assimilation. But to attribute this to a preconceived plot of malevolent master minds, to an organized campaign of sinister influences, is a huge mistake. The fact is that foreign-born newspaper men in America, just like their native colleagues, are merely human. They have their intellectual and moral limitations, and they have to make a living out of them. In the case of the Hungarian-American press, they are largely much below the old-country standard of their profession. The majority of Hungarian-American journalists (exceptions

are none too many) represent that dangerous type—dangerous irrespective of nationality—the unsuccessful "gentlemen" of half-baked culture, accustomed to good living and unaccustomed to work, the disappointment of family hopes. Veterinary surgeons have to undergo rigid examinations before they are admitted to practice, but anybody may become a newspaper writer, the molder of public opinion, and the builder of popular culture. Low professional standards are not limited to the Hungarian-American press, and commercialism puts a premium on the lack of scruples.

The other outstanding fact, which seems to escape the attention of many critics of the foreign-language press, is that most of the foreign-language newspapers are conducted as private commercial enterprises, with a sole view to profit. Their key to prosperity is circulation. New publishers of these foreign-language newspapers have made the discovery that circulation is gained, not by idealistic attempts at elevating the intellectual and moral standards of their public, not by straining the readers' brains with unfamiliar "highbrow stuff," but by playing on their sentiments and prejudices and idiosyncrasies. In "giving their public what it wants"—in other words, in following the above-mentioned line of the least resistance, publishers of foreign-language papers have imitated, on an infinitely less scale, the example set by the most successful American newspaper organizations. Just as the California public was supposed to be interested primarily in Chinaman-baiting, and got it, the average Magyar immigrant was interested in Slovak-baiting, and got it too.

This leads up to examination of the part the foreign-language—more particularly the Hungarian—press in this country has played in the first three years of the World War. The outbreak of the war produced on Hungarian newspaper men here largely the same effect as on newspaper men in the old country. It loosened all the inherited class and race prejudices and hatreds, all the primordial instincts and passions whose sum total is called war enthusiasm. But whereas in Hungary the grim realities and severe tasks of warfare, above all, the personal risk they were facing, acted as a check on the temper of newspaper men, their colleagues in this country

faced nothing but the prospect of a tremendous increase of circulation and prestige. They found the louder they yelled the farther they were heard. The result was, as far as the majority of Hungarian-American newspapers is concerned, an orgy of hatred, bloodthirst, and patriotic magalomania unparalleled in the history of any country and any press. Nothing like it can be found in the contemporary newspaper press of Hungary, the majority of which has up to date preserved a rare balance of tone, if not opinion.

Commercialism, and not "foreign plotting," is responsible for the pro-German excesses of the Magyar-American press, commercialism and the low intellectual and moral standards of editorial personnel.

There was one isolated case where a Hungarian newspaper man was found involved in a conspiracy against the laws of the United States—I am referring to the celebrated case of William Warne, alias Dr. Martin Dienes, who, as editor of the *Szabadsag*, in 1915 made an attempt, in conjunction with Doctor Dumba, then Austro-Hungarian ambassador, to disorganize American munition industries. As soon as his activities were disclosed by the U. S. Secret Service, he was dismissed by Mrs. Kohanyi, the young widow of the *Szabadsag's* founder, who, on the death of her husband in 1913, took more or less nominally charge of the paper's affairs as head of a newly formed corporation. There is reason to believe that Mrs. Kohanyi did not know about the intrigue conducted by Warne.

Although rabidly pro-German and jingoistic to the core, the *Szabadsag* always exercised care not to collide with the laws of the United States. Readers were advised, editorially, to "suppress their sentiments in hostile surroundings." At the same time, however, headlines and doctored dispatches and cartoons did their worst to incite Magyar chauvinism to the highest pitch.

The attitude of the *Szabadsag* in the first three years of the war can be fairly characterized by saying that the paper would have ranked as an extremely reactionary and jingoistic organ even in Hungary. In fact, the paper was more pro-German than pro-Hungarian, owing to the circumstance

that since the fall of 1916 the paper's policies were directed by Mr. Stephen Puky, an able and well-educated man of Junker family connections, ardent admirer of German militarism, and partisan of Count Tisza, the leader of Magyar Junkerdom. It is only fair to add that Mr. Puky, although by no means a lover of things American, has always strictly adhered to the letter of American law both before and after America's entrance into the war—as far, at least, as I was able to judge his actions.

In April, 1917, Mrs. Kohanyi married a Dr. Andrew Cserna, for a period Chicago representative of the paper, formerly a lawyer and director of a small bank in Hungary. With this marriage Doctor Cserna assumed control of the paper as editor-in-chief and general manager. As soon as he assumed charge of the paper, which coincided with America's entrance into the war, the *Szabadsag's* editorial policies were changed overnight. From a pro-German jingo organ it became a pro-Ally jingo organ. That this sudden turn at an angle of 180 degrees was not calculated to increase the readers' respect for and confidence in the paper can be easily imagined. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the *Szabadsag* has since made itself useful in disseminating government bulletins, etc., on selective service, Liberty Loan, and the like, among thousands of people very difficult to reach otherwise.

Extremely enlightening as to the mental attitude of the paper's editors is the fact that on July 4th the paper published, across its front page, an editorial adorned with a four-column cut of the American flag. The editorial consisted in carefully selected extracts of the Declaration of Independence —the passages, namely, which contain the indictment of the king of England, and nothing else. This method of "putting it over" needs no comment.[1]

APPROACH TO AMERICAN TYPE

On the whole, the foreign-language press tends everywhere to conform to the prevailing American type of

[1] Eugene S. Bagger, unpublished notes on the Hungarian press.

journal—*i.e.*, the commercial newspaper. It does not always do this voluntarily, but it learns sooner or later that the common man would rather read news, or what passes for news, than the opinions of editors. Thus every foreign-language paper tends, in the long run, to fit the description which Herman Ridder gave of the New York *Staats-Zeitung* when he referred to it as "an American newspaper published in German." This description applies to most of the older foreign-language daily papers, but particularly to the German press.

As a type of the foreign-language paper modeled on the American newspaper, the Milwaukee *Herold* is one of the most interesting German papers.

The owners of the *Herold* are connected with the tanning and brewery interests of Milwaukee and as such are an integral part of Milwaukee's commercial and political life. The *Herold* is not an isolated newspaper; it is the morning paper of the Germania Corporation, the largest German newspaper corporation in the United States.

Instead of pointing out what is American about the paper, it is really necessary to point out what is German. The sensational content of the general news, the diversity of the "ads," the features, such as market reports, women's patterns, and sporting columns, characteristic of American papers, and the amount of sensational news dealing with the breakdown of family relations, all mark the paper as American.

The paper is, of course, entirely commercial, and as such caters both to the German born who have assimilated American ways, and those who have not. For the latter the paper retains its serial story and a page of organization notices with the brief headlines and neatly topical arrangement characteristic of a European newspaper. This page, which might be supposed to reflect the life of the German colony of Milwaukee, is amusingly penetrated with American customs and content. The St. Aloysius Sodality of St. Michael's Catholic Church presents on Sunday a play called "A Man from Denver." The Humboldt Verein No. 6, G. U. G. Germania, at a special session to be addressed by the Head-

quarters Agitation Committee, promises to have the G. U. G. Germania Booster Club there to make things lively. A Lutheran church, whose members are scattering, presents its pastor with an auto, so that the German church will not be forced to disintegrate.

The attitude of the *Herold* toward the German situation was as finely baffling as in most German commercial papers. It was conspicuously pro-American during the war—its owners were sufficiently acclimated to understand how to put themselves into suave relations with the government. There was no open bitterness and the editorials were very guarded. When one of the Allied nations said something mean about another Allied nation, it found a place in the news columns, and when the New York *World* or the *New Republic* or the *Nation* expressed its disappointment with Wilson or the peace treaty, these papers were quoted in the editorial columns, so that the *Herold* itself was not implicated. But although there was no direct and frank expression of feeling in regard to the German situation, there was apparently an undercurrent of understanding and implication between editors and readers built up during the muffled caution of the war.[1]

The characteristics of the commercial press—everything which distinguishes it from the other types, the organs, and the propaganda papers—are determined by the fact that it is a business enterprise. This business consists, in the last analysis, in creating and selling a single commodity—namely, advertising space. The value of advertising space, however, is determined by the character and extent of the paid circulation. Circulation is valuable only when it is paid for, because, in order to become a good advertising medium, a paper must not merely be circulated, it must be read; and experience has shown that, as a rule, a man who buys a paper reads it.

[1] Winifred Rauschenbusch, unpublished report on the German press.

Thus the commercial paper takes on the character of a public utility, like the telephone or the street-car system.

The success of the *Jewish Morning Journal*, for example, is due largely to the fact that it is the only Jewish morning paper in New York. As such it became the natural medium for the publication of help-wanted advertising, because working people begin looking for jobs in the morning and naturally buy a morning paper to learn where they are to look. The *Morning Journal* is the New York *Times* of the East Side Jewish population. It has a circulation of 75,000. It is enterprising as a news gatherer, conservative, but intelligent in its editorial policies, and it is the natural medium for communication between the employer and employee.

Since the commercial press is interested primarily in circulation, it does not emphasize, and is not radical in its opinions, but prefers news to the interpretation of the news. In the primitive forms of journalism of fifty years ago, still preserved in the "journals of opinion" like the *New Republic* and the *Nation*, the editor took himself very seriously. He sought not merely to be a spectator, but an actor in the drama. Every event must, he thought, be interpreted, and so every statement in regard to current events became an opinion of the editor rather than merely a fact. Nothing was ever printed for its mere human interest. But the publisher of the commercial newspaper has learned that the average man prefers art to truth, human interest to doctrines, and he gives the public what it wants.

One of the most successful newspaper men in the United States, Mr. James E. Scripps, is said to have made the important discovery early in life that news items are read in inverse ratio to their length, and he and his associates have built up a whole string of successful newspapers mainly on that principle. Mr.

Hearst introduced the element of entertainment, vaudeville, into journalism, and his papers are said to be successful mainly because of the comic pictures that they publish.

Many of the foreign-language papers in the United States have learned the value of these very simple formulas. They address themselves to the common man rather than the "highbrow"; they use the language of ordinary intercourse rather than the highly specialized language of the sharply differentiated schools of thought into which the intellectuals divide. The worst thing that can be said of them is that they are more concerned about the interests of advertisers than about those of readers.

The commercial press is more interested in the welfare of the individual man than in that of any organization or society of men. It is interested in the common man because his interests are universally human and intelligible; they are such things as births, deaths, and marriages; the intimate dramas of domestic life; all the things which the news of the day supplies that actually make gossip and that might make literature. News is what makes people talk.

It is the news that makes papers readable, and it is news, in the long run, that makes papers read. When the *Forward* began to make literature out of the lives of the East Side Jews, when it undertook to deal, through its *Bindel Brief*, with the problems of the individual man, when it ceased to be merely the organ of a little group of intellectuals and became a form of literature, an organ of life rather than of a party, then it became a successful newspaper.

So every newspaper tends, in the long run, in the mere struggle for existence, to become something that it perhaps did not intend to be. This is again the natural history of the press.

Part IV

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

XV

THE LEVERS OF CONTROL

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE newspapers, as we have tried to show in this volume, are a power to be reckoned with in the Americanization of the immigrants. They play an important part in the changes in sentiment and attitude toward the home country and the United States, for it is only through publications in their mother tongues that the widely scattered representatives of the various racial groups have been able to maintain such contact and communication as would enable them to preserve their national organizations, their common traditions, and their common speech. According to its content, the press can hasten or retard their assimilation. It can turn their interest back upon the home country, or focus it in an effort to revolutionize this. It can, on the other hand, introduce America to the immigrant, and give him the materials on which to build interest and affection.

The idea of "controlling" any press is repugnant to the lovers of free speech. Yet it cannot be denied that various agencies and interests have successfully attempted to control the immigrant press for purposes inimical to America. If honest and loyal Americans refuse to take any steps in the matter, they simply give their potential control into less scrupulous hands.

No newspaper is a free agent. It is the product of various influences. If we know what these influences are, and their relative strength, we shall know how to prevent the immigrant editor from being bullied into

dangerous courses, and how to give America at least an equal chance with foreign interests.

REVENUE THE KEYNOTE

The nerve of the press situation is revenue. An analysis which reveals the sources of income of the newspapers generally discloses at the same time the manner in which, directly and indirectly, they are controlled.

The sources of newspaper revenue are from subscriptions, advertising, and subventions. From the point of view of control, the significance of these three items of revenue is quite different. The things that make the difference are: (1) the degree of arbitrary control which can be exercised by any single individual or group of individuals over the sources of income, and (2) the extent to which the existence of a paper is dependent upon that part of its income which can be controlled.

SUBSIDIZED AND MENDICANT JOURNALS

Newspapers which obtain their revenue from a political party or other organization, fraternal or religious, are not what is ordinarily understood as "independent" papers. Newspapers become independent only when the editor is so situated that his opinions are not dictated by the exigencies of party or institutional interests and are not preordained by party doctrine or dogma.

There are very few propagandist papers that are self-supporting. Most of the radical, Socialist, and labor papers are mendicant journals. They are either regularly supported by the parties and societies they represent, or they are constantly driven to appeal to the generosity of their constituency to keep them alive.

Die Fackel (the Torch) is a Socialist weekly which has

been published in Chicago since 1879. Like *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* (the Labor News), of which it is the Sunday edition, it is supported by the contributions of forty-two German labor organizations in Chicago. Nine of these organizations still use the German language in their meetings. In the issue for September 21, 1919, was the following appeal, to which were appended lists of contributions ranging in amounts from twenty-five dollars to twenty-five cents. The larger contributions were mostly from clubs and societies.

Much Too Slowly!

The $25,000 fund is coming in slowly—much too slowly.

Our readers and friends seem to be of the opinion that there is no hurry.

On the contrary, time is an element. We have got to know where we are at.

Our expenditures in the immediate future will be tremendously increased.

Already, on August 25th the union secured an increase of wages, which necessitates our paying out $2,000 more a week. So far we have not been able to meet this raise in wages. Naturally, we have to. The union insists on it. Our other expenditures are going up in the same way.

So there is real danger, comrades!

In order to meet all obligations, the directors of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* must know whether measures will be taken which will secure the future existence of the paper in spite of its burdens.

It is these circumstances which compel us, in all earnestness, to call attention to the fact that it is simply impossible to assume obligations of something like $15,000 a year unless, at the same time, an income of the same amount is forthcoming.

To secure this we need $25,000 at least.

Other papers have been facing similar crises. The New York *Call* succeeded in getting together $150,000, and is saved.

You can save the *Arbeiter Zeitung* too, if you want to.

Not with words, but with sacrifices, you can save it, if every one of you will put his hand in his pocket and contribute his mite to the $25,000 fund.[1]

Most of the Italian and Spanish Socialist and anarchist papers publish lists of donors, with the amounts of their contributions. A copy of the *Cultura Obrera*, a Spanish paper published at Laredo, Texas, contains lists of contributions ranging from five cents to a dollar, from places as remote as York, Arizona, and Baltimore, Maryland. One of these lists containing 110 names from Gary, Illinois, represents contributions to the amount of $49.50.

The most interesting of mendicant journals is the Italian anarchist paper *Cronica Suversiva* (Revolutionary Chronicle). The editor of this paper, Luigi Galleani, came to America about 1901. He was apparently at that time a fugitive from justice. He established his paper at Lynn, Massachusetts. During the World War the Post Office Department made the most determined efforts to suppress the paper, but was never quite successful. Galleani always found a way to evade the censorship. Meanwhile, he continued to storm against the government and all governments. Eventually, however, he was deported.

Galleani was supported by small contributions from Italian laborers in various parts of the country. His methods of appeal were unique. Following are samples of Galleani's style:[2]

Remember, you readers of the *Cronica*, that these hostages have put their companions and children under our ægis; that indifference here takes on the odious appearance of betrayal; and that each one should give without delay for the victims of the reaction at Seattle.[3]

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[1] *Die Fackel*, September 21, 1919. (Ninety-one people contributed during one week. Most of the contributions were for less than two dollars. Twenty-two were for twenty-five cents each.)

[2] Notes of the translator.

[3] *Cronica Suversiva* (Italian), Lynn, Massachusetts, January 26, 1918.

This is a rag of a paper, that gets along on crusts, on bread scraps, supported and paid for by 5,000 beggars.[1]

The Lettish paper, *Biletins* (the Bulletin), of January 9, 1918, in a sort of inaugural address to its future readers, makes the remark that "it is a very common thing for a new periodical in its first issue to make a statement to the public in regard to its needs and its program." In conclusion, the publishers cast themselves upon the hospitality of the public, with the statement that the "existence of the *Biletins* rests upon the will of the organized proletariat of America and mainly upon that of the members of the Lettish Federation."

This is a characteristic expression of the attitude of the propagandist press. There is a general assumption of the representative and public character of the enterprise, but no disposition to guarantee the individual reader what he wants and needs. It is this assumption by the Socialist, radical, and propagandist press generally that distinguishes it from the individualism of the commercial press and that justifies, perhaps, appeals to the public for assistance, which a mere business enterprise could not and would not make.

BALANCE OF POWER SHIFTS TO ADVERTISING

One of the most significant facts about the independent newspaper is the steady increase in recent years in the item of advertising over subscriptions as a source of income. This change can be traced in the American press printed in English. Fifty years ago newspapers still lived largely upon their income from subscribers. At that time papers sold for five cents a copy.

[1] *Cronica Suvversiva* (Italian), Lynn, Massachusetts, March 9, 1918.

From 1850 to 1870, according to Talcott Williams, head of the Columbia School of Journalism, "The proportional yield from advertising in the United States dailies was one-third to one-half of the total income." From 1870 to 1890 the paper that broke even on advertising and circulation was "sound." [1]

By 1900 advertising represented 55 per cent of the total income of all journals. At that time the publishers of the metropolitan dailies felt they were conducting a safe business when the returns from the sales of papers covered the cost of white paper and of distribution. Five years later the relative value of advertising to sales had increased to 56.6 per cent of the whole. In 1910 the revenue from advertising represented 60 per cent of the total income.

The census figures which exhibit the sources of income of journalistic publications do not distinguish between daily papers and other forms of journalism. There is every reason to believe that the percentage of income from advertising is proportionately larger for daily newspapers than for other periodicals. Joseph Blethen, manager of the Seattle *Times*, stated in the *Publisher's Guide*, December, 1915, that the circulation of his paper produced but 20 per cent of the total income, and that the cost of white paper alone was 25 cents a month for each subscriber, while the income from subscribers was but 25 cents for the same period. Since that time the selling price of newspapers has been pretty generally doubled, but in the same period the cost of white paper has increased from $2.25 to something like $6.50 per hundred pounds. In fact, the price for paper in the open market in 1917 ran as high as $200 per ton.[2]

The proportion of income from advertising and from circulation is probably different for foreign-language

[1] *Publisher's Guide*, September, 1915, p. 21.

[2] *Printer's Ink*, December 25, 1919. Letter from L. B. Palmer, manager of the American Newspaper Association.

and for English papers. In general, foreign-language newspapers resemble, in organization and in content, the English papers of forty years ago. Very few publishers of the foreign-language press have learned to take the detached and impersonal attitude of the American newspaper man toward the contents of the papers they print. They do not quite accept the philosophy of the editor who said he was "willing to print anything that God would let happen." The foreign-language newspapers are never, to quite the extent that this is true of an American journal, business institutions.

RELATIVE CONTROL OF SUBSCRIBERS AND ADVERTISERS

The source of newspaper income over which individuals or groups of individuals can exercise control is circulation. A paper which has a large and established circulation has a source of revenue which is more independent of arbitrary control from the outside than that which it obtains from any other source. One reason for this is that the public which supports a paper, particularly the public which supports an independent paper, is not organized and cannot act as a unit. It cannot act arbitrarily. That is the significance of the change in the balance between revenue from circulation and from advertising. As long as the main source of revenue of the press was circulation, the press was relatively independent of the advertiser. But the struggle for circulation has constantly tended to lower selling prices. A lower selling price meant larger circulation, and larger circulation meant larger advertising revenue. The increasing influence of the advertiser, representing as he does the capitalist class, has been frequently referred to in recent discussions of the press as a menace to democracy.

The value of newspaper advertising, however, is created by circulation. If we assume that the paper which gains circulation represents, and seeks to represent, the interests and wishes of the general public, and advertising represents the commercial interests, it is apparent that in the newspaper these two forces do not merely balance one another; they are interdependent. The business man is bound to advertise in the paper which has the largest circulation, and the paper which has the largest circulation will at least tend to be the paper that most effectively reflects the interests, defines the attitudes and the opinions of the largest public.

Just as the business man will not refuse to sell his goods to individuals who do not share his religious or political views, so he will not, under ordinary circumstances, refuse to advertise in a newspaper which does not express his views on political and social questions. He is much more likely to seek to induce the government to suppress an obnoxious paper or to create public prejudice against it, and so reduce the number of its subscribers, than to injure it by refusing to advertise in it. The attitude of the business man toward the press is pretty accurately reflected in the current philosophy of the advertising man.

On the other hand, it is certain that the interests of business men, whether for good or for ill, do exercise a very great, and perhaps increasing, indirect influence upon the newspaper press. One reason for this is the fact that newspapers themselves have become business enterprises, frequently employing large capital. It is, however, with the weaker newspaper—papers which, while dependent upon advertising to live, have no very secure hold through their circulation upon the public—that the weight of the politicians' and advertisers' money counts. It is the weaker independent and com-

mercial papers, which do not have the backing of party or other organization, which are most easily influenced in their editorial and news policies by advertising.

Now, a very large number of the foreign-language newspapers are of this kind. They have been started with a small capital and an equally small fund of experience. In order to keep alive they are willing, and sometimes eager, to sell themselves to interests and to causes in regard to which they are otherwise indifferent, if not hostile.

The point to be emphasized is that the influence of advertising, even in the foreign-language press, is not so direct nor so powerful as it sometimes seems. The fact is that almost any newspaper which has a sufficiently large circulation can, if it chooses to do so, protect itself against any undue influence which business men seek to exercise by the withdrawal of advertising patronage for other than business reasons. It can do this by calling attention to the fact that advertising has been withdrawn, and explaining the reason why.

In considering the influence which advertising may and does exercise upon the foreign-language paper, it is important to distinguish between different forms of advertising—*e.g.*, local as compared with national or "foreign" advertising.

LOCAL ADVERTISING UNORGANIZED

The immigrant press is part of the immigrant community. It, therefore, becomes the advertising medium not only for all the local dealers in the community, but for the foreign-language bookstore, bank, theater, steamship agency, as well as for the professions, the lawyers and physicians, of the community.

The advertising space of 170 papers of different types,

belonging to 24 language groups, was examined, and the proportionate amount of space given to different items of advertising ascertained. According to these tables, the total space given to local advertising was 64 per cent of all advertising. Organization, bank, doctor, and department-store "ads" occupy more space than any other kind.

Another form of local advertising which has greatly increased in importance during the war is "labor wanted"—what is called in the English press "classified advertising." For some years past publishers of foreign-language papers have been calling the attention of employers and employment agencies to the fact that the speediest method of reaching the immigrant laborer is through the medium of his own paper. During the World War, when the demand for all kinds of labor became suddenly acute, there was a great increase in the amount of classified advertising in the foreign-language papers. The *Jewish Morning Journal*, which is, with the exception of *Il Progresso*, the largest medium for this sort of advertising, frequently prints as much as thirteen or fourteen columns a day.

During the war something like half a dozen or more advertising agencies sprang up in New York which specialized in this sort of advertising. Each one of these agencies made itself the central bureau for a group of papers in two or three languages. Advertisements were collected at the central bureau and then distributed to the papers in which they might be expected to bring the quickest returns.

One reason why papers are eager to get classified, and particularly "labor wanted" advertisements, is that this advertising has news value. In a great city like New York, an enormous number of people in the clothing and other industries are constantly looking for chances to change their employment or their location.

The fact that opportunities are so many and so varied makes the reading of the "want" column a form of sport, and this form of sport greatly increased during and since the war, in view of the shortage of labor and for other reasons.

Labor-wanted "ads" are to be found especially in the press of the migrant industrials and in the cosmopolitan press. The Japanese dailies have a good deal of labor-wanted advertising. The Los Angeles *News* has 20 per cent, the *Colorado Times* of Denver has 22.2 per cent, and the *Utah Nippo* of Salt Lake City has 30.7 per cent. These papers are read by the Japanese workmen who are employed in various kinds of public works and in railroad construction.

Neither the local nor the classified advertising has been used, or can be used, to any great extent to influence or control the press. It is like news; it makes the paper more interesting; it appeals to the public and not to any organized group capable of exercising arbitrary control over the policies of the paper in which their advertisements are published.

POTENTIAL POWER OF NATIONAL ADVERTISING

The situation with the so-called "foreign" or national advertising is different. All advertising that is not distinctly local is national.

The first national advertisers were the patent-medicine manufacturers. It was discovered, about 1868 or 1870, that it was possible to sell certain kinds of commodities by mail—patent medicines, for example. Advertisements, framed in a way to intrigue the readers of the local press, made patent medicines popular in the remote villages.

There are differences in the character of medical advertisements. Some of them are so manifestly

fraudulent on their face that the Post Office authorities exclude them from the mails. Others are so worded that they escape this censorship.

Medical and mail order advertising soon fell into disrepute, and this long prevented the growth of more legitimate forms of national advertising. Manufacturers did not want to put their goods in the same class with the patent medicines by advertising them on the same page. This situation has led publishers of American papers to purge their pages of the grosser forms of advertising swindles. For a number of years professional advertising men have co-operated with the public authorities in an effort to purge the columns of the press from this and other questionable forms of advertising. No such housecleaning has yet been undertaken by the foreign-language papers. Rather, they have become the refuge of every form of fraudulent advertising no longer tolerated in the English papers.[1]

The manufacturers of patent medicines paid large sums for advertising. It was a rule in the earlier mail order business that an article costing 33⅓ cents should sell for a dollar. Of the 66⅔ cents gross profit, 33⅓ cents was spent in advertising. The remaining 33⅓ cents was net. The Post Office Department estimates that the amount of sales of what it calls "outrageous schemes" is $120,000,000. The portion of this sum distributed to the press in the form of advertising has kept many foreign-language papers alive that would otherwise have gone to the wall.[2]

The foreign-language newspapers printed patent medicine and mail order advertising almost from the first. Medical advertising still holds a very large place

[1] See Michael M. Davis, Jr., *Immigrant Health and the Community*, chap. viii.

[2] C. W. Palman, secretary-treasurer, National Advertisers, "Fake Advertising," in *Publisher's Guide*, December, 1914.

in the columns of the foreign-language press. It occupies about 12.7 per cent of the advertising space of the foreign-language press as a whole, and 14.7 per cent of the space of its big dailies. These figures are taken from two tables of advertising statistics; the first based on an analysis of the advertising of 170 papers of different types in 24 languages; the second, on an analysis of the advertising of the 20 largest dailies in 20 language groups.

Of this 12.7 per cent of medical advertising, something like 5.8 per cent is doctors' advertising, and 6.9 per cent is patent medicine advertising. The doctors' "ads" are usually those of reputable local physicians of the immigrant group. Where there is a great deal of patent medicine advertising, however, there are usually also advertisements of quack doctors. In the largest Chinese daily, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* of San Francisco, 44.5 per cent of all advertising is patent medicine advertising. It also has a great many doctors' "ads."

Only one of the five doctors who advertises is an old-fashioned Chinese doctor: "accompanied is the diagnosis of the pulse." In fact, the whole process of Chinese Americanization can be seen most clearly in the medical advertisements. One doctor in Sonora, Mexico, has his photograph in Chinese dress; another doctor is in white collar and tortoise-shell glasses. These doctors' "ads" consist mostly of testimonials from patients in Hawaii and Canada. There are three kinds of drug store advertising; there is the typical Chinese ginseng and deer's horn, the most expensive Chinese medicines. Then there is the Chinese drug store which advertises twenty to thirty kinds of herb medicines, including brain medicine, and medicine for having children. There is also the American drug store, which advertises some particular remedy—last of all there are the straight patent medicine "ads." [1]

[1] Note of the translator.

The Chinese papers all have a great deal of patent medicine and medical advertising. So have some of the big dailies of other groups. The Bulgarian daily, the *Naroden Glas* of Cleveland, has 37.5 per cent, and the Polish *Zgoda* of Chicago has 24 per cent of patent medicine advertising. In general, the dailies of the exotics and migrant industrials seem to have more quack medicine "ads" than the dailies of the settlers and colonists.

The Swedish evangelical paper, *Missions-Vännen*, and the Hungarian magazine, the *Berko Kepes Ujsazja*, have 31 and 40 per cent of medical advertising.

TABLE XIX

PAPERS HAVING HIGH PERCENTAGE OF PATENT MEDICINE "ADS"

LANGUAGE	PAPER	CIRCULATION	TYPE	PER CENT OF PATENT MEDICINE "ADS."
German	*Echo, Post, Beobachter*	10,000	organ	100.0
Bohemian	*Pokrok Zapadu*	21,000	daily	45.5
French	*Opinion Publique*	5,390	daily	41.5
Hungarian	*Berko Kepes Ujsazja*	25,000	literary	40.0
Norw.-Dan	*Skandinaven*	22,000	daily	33.0
Swedish	*Missions-Vännen*	18,000	evangelical	31.0

The *Echo, Post, und Beobachter*, which has 100 per cent medical advertising, was formerly published by George H. von Massow and A. H. Wagoner. Wagoner, who was formerly connected with the *Illinois Staats-zeitung*, also ran an advertising bureau for a number of small German papers. This paper advertised itself in the following manner:

Merged in the *Echo* are the following newspapers: the *Beobachter* of Chicago; the *Post* of Forest Park; the *Volksblatt*

of Joliet, Will County, Illinois; the *McHenry Familienfreund* of McHenry County, Illinois, and the *Concordia* of Chicago.

The *Echo, Post, and Beobachter* is also a local newspaper for Forest Park, Oak Park, River Forest, Maywood, Melrose Park, Bellwood, Hillside, River Grove, Franklin Park, Mannheim, Kolze, Elmhurst, Lombard, Addison, Bensenville, Lyons, Summit, Niles, and Niles Center, in which over 50 per cent of the population are Germans.

The *Echo, Post, and Beobachter* has been the official newspaper of Du Page County for over twenty-five years, and Proviso Township for fifteen years.

The Atlantic City *Freie Presse* says of the *Echo, Post, und Beobachter:* "It is the official newspaper of a number of large German societies, whose news it publishes. . . . Under present conditions, and with the battle of the Germans for personal liberty, it is commendable to support a newspaper of that kind." The *Echo, Post, und Beobachter* recently gave up the struggle as a newspaper and became the organ of the Deutsch Amerikanischer Burger Bund, a German mutual benefit society. A practical index of the conscience and responsibility which newspapers display in the selection of their advertising, is the relative amount of medical advertising which they print.

The Socialist papers usually claim that they accept no fake medicine advertisements, no fake real estate advertisements, and no political advertising. Of the 17 Socialist papers whose advertising was examined, the percentage of patent medicine advertising was 5.9 per cent as compared with 6.9 per cent in all types of papers. The Lithuanian Socialist paper, *Keleivis*, which has 16.2 per cent of patent medicine advertising, is one of the few Socialist papers which is financially self-supporting.

It is probably true that a good many of the foreign-language papers could not continue to exist if they

were deprived of their medical advertisements unless they made themselves the organ of some society, party, or faction.

Other forms of national advertising have begun more recently to patronize the foreign-language papers.

There are now [1914] 10,177 national advertisers in the United States. In the days when Pears' Soap began to advertise, all national advertisers were in the big cities. Now they are located in 282 cities. Most early national advertising started in New England, where the first novelties, Yankee notions, were manufactured. Now there are towns not only in New England, but all over the Middle West, that have been made famous by the advertisements that their manufacturers give them—Waltham watches, Brockton shoes, Troy shirts, Rochester kodaks, Grand Rapids furniture, Bay City Aladin houses, Battle Creek grapenuts, cornflakes, etc., Akron rubber. Foreign advertising is now about 20 per cent of all the advertising in newspapers, and is constantly increasing.[1]

Martin's Merchandising Reporting Service for May 15, 1917, states that the percentage of money spent on advertising in proportion to sales is as follows for certain leading national advertisers:[2]

	Per Cent
Arrow collars	3½
Colgate preparations	1½
Fatima cigarettes	5
Ivory soap	3
Kodaks	3
Old Dutch Cleanser	10
Portland cement	2
Velvet tobacco	6
Sherwin-Williams paint	3½

Big displays of American tobacco firms, American machinery, and American graphophones now appear

[1] *Printer's Ink*, June 5, 1914.

[2] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1917, p. 99.

in the foreign-language press. During the war much space was taken up by Liberty Loan "ads." At present the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, under Miss Frances Kellor's direction, is introducing "ads" of American food products like Mazola and Washington Crisps. Some of the dailies of large circulation, like the Italian *Il Progresso*, the Greek *Atlantis*, the Norwegian-Danish *Posten og Ved Arnen*, and the Yiddish *Morning Journal*, have more than 15 per cent of this kind of national advertising.

The bulk of national advertising is distributed through agencies existing for the purpose. This system gives the agency control over a considerable proportion of the income of the papers with which it deals, especially when it acts for American advertisers in the little-known field of the immigrant press.

It is not likely, however, that medical advertising has been used to influence the opinions and policies of the foreign-language press.

For one thing, medical advertising has never been centralized and controlled as other forms of national advertising have. The agencies that specialize in the sale of medical advertising to the foreign-language papers are small and irresponsible. A good many of the manufacturers of nostrums maintain their own agencies, and they have no political or social opinion which they are willing to spend money to support.

Of all the foreign-language advertising agencies—and the number of them is large—only those established by or for the German and Scandinavian papers have had a reputation for efficiency, honesty, and real service.

One of the oldest of these agencies is that of the C. Rasmussen Company in Minneapolis. Rasmussen is a Dane, a publisher of a number of papers—a Norwegian-Danish, *Illustreret Familie Journal*, a monthly; a similar

publication in Swedish, and a weekly Danish political paper, the *Ugebladet*. He is also the author of a number of studies of Danish-American history which are intended eventually to make a history of the Danish people in America. The Rasmussen Company, which was established in 1874, has the agency for seventy-five Scandinavian papers—sixty-five weeklies, seven monthlies, and three semimonthlies—in Canada and the United States, which claim a combined circulation of 917,750.

The German papers maintain a certain number of little independent agencies, but for the most part they use the American advertising agencies. They have never put themselves in the same class with the other foreign papers, and never became clients of the Hammerling agency.

It was not until Louis Hammerling established his advertising agency, under the title "American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers," that the majority of the foreign-language papers received any consideration from the national advertisers. This remarkable man showed to what lengths an unscrupulous and efficient organization could go in controlling the immigrant press.

XVI

THE MANIPULATIONS OF HAMMERLING

THE outstanding example of undue influence exerted on the foreign-language press through control of advertising is that provided by Louis N. Hammerling and his agency, the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. This organization was investigated by the Sixty-sixth United States Senate in connection with its report on *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda.* The committee's findings gave an adequate idea of Mr. Hammerling's methods and achievements during his ten years of activity.

The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was unique. Under Mr. Hammerling it gained a prestige and an influence with the publishers of the foreign-language papers on the one hand, and with the national advertisers on the other, that made it indispensable to both. Incidentally, Hammerling, who according to his own account was an immigrant laborer of no education, became a figure of national importance politically through the influence he was supposed to have with the seven hundred newspapers that were members of his association.

The agency was established in New York in 1908. Its origins are somewhat obscure. Hammerling was for a time connected with a Polish paper in Wilkes-Barre, and also solicited advertising for the *United Mine Workers' Journal.* His connection with these papers got him into politics, and in 1904 he came to New York to handle the foreign-language press for the

Republican party. He continued this service for the national Republican party up to and through 1916.

It was apparently through his connection with politics and because of his success in handling the foreign-language press that Hammerling and the Foreign Language Press Association got their start. The following testimony of Mr. Hammerling before the Senate Committee on the *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German . . . Propaganda* tells the story and at the same time introduces Mr. Hammerling personally.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LOUIS N. HAMMERLING

Question.—Where do you live?

Answer.—At 104 East Fortieth Street, New York.

Q.—What is your business?

A.—I am president of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers.

Q.—The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is a corporation?

A.—Yes.

Q.—When was it organized?

A.—In 1908.

Q.—Who were the incorporators?

A.—The incorporators were E. M. Grilla, Mr. Carpenter—I do not remember his initials, but he was an attorney.

Q.—Edwin E. Carpenter?

A.—He was an attorney for the company when it was organized—Oliver C. Carpenter, I think, was the name; and Mr. Gates, I think, was Mr. Carpenter's assistant.

Q.—At whose instance was the charter secured?

A.—At Mr. Carpenter's, I think.

Q.—At whose instance did they get this charter?

A.—Mine.

Q.—What did you organize it for? What was your object?

A.—I bought out an advertising agency called the Italian-American Advertising Agency.

Q.—You are not an Italian?

A.—No, I am not; but I used to deal with these Italian newspapers, and we saw that to get around the Italian nation —you see there was not much business to do with the Italian papers, so we changed it to the association. . . .

Q.—For what purpose did you get it [the advertising agency]?

A.—To get advertising in the foreign-language newspapers.

Q.—Political or business?

A.—Commercial.

Q.—Commercial exclusively?

A.—No, sir. We took political advertising when they gave it to us.

Q.—Was not that part of your scheme—to get political as well as commercial advertising?

A.—It was not a scheme. Every advertising agency does that. . . .

Q.—You had nothing of that kind in view?

A.—No.

Q.—Where had you resided prior to your coming to New York?

A.—In Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

Q.—What had been your business there?

A.—I was connected with a Polish paper there and handled advertising for the *United Mine Workers' Journal* and that Polish paper, and I took contracts for printing.

Q.—What induced you, or who induced you, to go to New York?

A.—The Republican national committee.

Q.—In 1908?

A.—No, in 1904. I came to New York in 1904, and I handled the campaign for them with the foreign papers—the advertising.

Q.—At whose suggestion did you organize the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers?

A.—I made the suggestion. In May, 1908, to be exact, I decided with Mr. Grilla to go into the business in New York, and in November we began business, the first part of November.

Q.—Senator Nelson asked you a question as to whether

this advertising agency had anything to do with political advertising?

A.—Why, before I ever dreamed of advertising I was asked by Senator Quay and Senator Penrose to come down and help them handle this campaign.

Q.—That was in 1904?

A.—Yes. . . .

Q.—Did you not return to Wilkes-Barre after the 1904 campaign?

A.—Yes. . . . I was elected in 1908 again . . . a delegate to the Republican national convention.

Q.—Did you have charge of political advertising for the Republican committee in 1908?

A.—Yes; in some of the foreign-language papers. . . .

Q.—When you decided to launch this new organization, what means did you take of bringing together the publishers of the foreign-language newspapers?

A.—I sent out a circular letter with a blank telling them that if they would subscribe to the preferred stock of the association we could build up a great business. They did not need to pay cash, I said, for one-half of the advertising that we were to place could be used to reduce their indebtedness for the stock from one share to four shares. Nobody had more than that. The stock was sold as preferred stock. . . .

Q.—How much stock did you have?

A.—Two hundred and ninety shares of the common [a majority of the common stock]. . . . There are no publishers who own the common stock.

Q.—. . . You started in to do political advertising, did you not?

A.—Yes. . . . I did in 1912 political advertising for the Republicans.

Q.—How did you manage the business? Did you collect for all the newspapers? Did you collect the fee for the publishing of political advertisements for the whole lot? How did you distribute the money?

A.—Why, the state committee submits a list of papers to the national chairman that they want to use, and the papers have regular rates; they have a rate card showing what

they charge for advertising. In 1916 they bought 30,000 lines in the dailies, 20,000 lines in the semiweeklies, and 10,000 lines in the weeklies, according to the rate which was paid . . . in 1912 . . . over $100,000. . . . The Republican national committee paid it.

Q.—Did you not start this association with a banquet?

A.—No. We had the first banquet a year after, in 1909 . . . at the Republican Club in New York . . . to celebrate the first year. . . . We always gave a souvenir—a fountain pen or a pencil—every year [to the publishers].

Q.—Whom else did you invite to attend the banquet? I mean other than publishers.

A.—I think Mr. Cortelyou was one, the new president of the Consolidated Gas Company. I really could not remember, but a good many prominent business men. We invited them so that they could see that we had not any horns . . . the Standard Oil advertising managers and the American Tobacco Company . . . one year . . . three or four members of the Cabinet . . . I think in 1911 [were present].

Q.—You got these men of prominence, and men who occupied conspicuous places in the government, to attend these banquets, and then capitalized that with the publishers of the foreign-language newspapers over the country, did you not . . . to give you standing?

A.—I do not know how I capitalized that. These men in public life were very glad to come. . . . I had all the standing I wanted among them. I kept out of the business all of the crooks in the advertising business, the medical fellows, and the stock sellers, and all of those people. . . .

Q.—What were you worth financially when you went to New York? . . .

A.—A couple of hundred thousand dollars . . . made . . . in advertising and printing.

Q.—When did you first secure large advertising contracts from the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company, and some of these concerns?

A.—About 1909.

Q.—Immediately after the organization of your company?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it not a fact that the original purpose of the organization of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was to exercise political control over the foreign-language publications of the country?

A.—No. I had about as much political control over them [the foreign-language publications of the country] as the Pope has in a synagogue—if you will permit the expression—for the reason that I would have as much influence with a paper in Milwaukee as I would with the Jewish *Forward* in New York. It is not a fair thing to belittle 800 newspapers of great importance by saying that I, through handling 5 per cent of the entire national advertising in the United States, would control them. That is all I handled—about 5 per cent.[1]

Hammerling got his start in politics. The most notorious operations of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers were in the field of political advertising. Politicians, without having any real knowledge of the foreign-language press, early realized its potential influence in politics. They realized that it pays to advertise.

PARTY POLITICS

Hammerling, in his testimony before the Senate committee, December 3, 1918, said that he had handled "over $100,000" in the Republican campaign of 1912. It is possible that this money was used to buy something more than advertising space.

During the war, at a time when both men were more or less under fire because of their relations, direct and indirect, with the German and Austrian propaganda in this country, Frank Zotti, editor of the Croatian *Na-*

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda.* Report and Hearings of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, vol. i, pp. 465–472.

rodni List, showed the Post Office authorities a copy of a political advertisement which Hammerling had offered him in 1916, but which he (Zotti) refused. Zotti is a Democrat. The copy of the contract follows:

NARODNI LIST CROATIAN

ORIGINAL ADVERTISING ORDER No. 19,997

New York July 19, 1916 Publisher of Narodni List (D)
New York City

Dear Sir: Please insert POLITICAL ADVERTISING
Space 50 inches per insertion
for Twice a week Unless otherwise ordered
Beginning August 1st, 1916.
Position to be Best possible

Remarks:

INSERTIONS ARE TO BE MADE ON WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS from August 1st, 1916, to November 7, 1916. No INSERTIONS GIVEN AFTER NOVEMBER 7TH WILL BE CREDITED. Send regularly copies of the newspapers containing the advertisement to us

Copy attached Cuts under separate cover
and charge our account gross, less

Net $1,000.00 net in full.....One-half of this amount will be paid September 15, the balance October 15.....

The interesting thing about this advertising order is the rate. Advertising in papers with an average circulation of 14,450—which is about the circulation of Zotti's paper in 1916—was worth forty-four cents per inch for each insertion. The rate offered is seventy-five cents per inch, or nearly twice the regular price of advertising in 1916. This is perhaps an indication of relative cost of political as compared with other forms of advertising. The suggestion is that in this case, at least, the price of the advertisement was intended to

buy something more than "space." Zotti exhibited it to show, among other things, that when it came to politics and patriotism he was superior to the influences of money.

Many editors and publishers of foreign-language papers are not unwilling to sell their editorial opinion. Some of them conduct papers—particularly the kind of paper that springs up just before a contested election—for no other purpose. It is always a question, however, whether it has paid the political parties to purchase, even where it is possible to do so, the editorial support of the foreign-language press, or any press for that matter. It is more than likely that the only papers whose support is worth anything are those who give it as a matter of principle. There are subtler and more effective ways, known to press agents and professional propagandists, of influencing the public through the medium of the press.

THE ANTI-PROHIBITION CAMPAIGN

An illuminating exposition of the art of propaganda was made by Percy Andrae, press agent of the United States Brewers' Association. Andrae was a politician of a new type. He introduced into the campaigns of the brewers and liquor dealers unheard-of methods for creating and mobilizing public opinion. He made systematic surveys of opinion, wet and dry, in states where the saloon had become an issue. He organized propaganda on a grand scale and Mr. Hammerling helped him—for a price.

Yet I assert, confidently, that in a large majority of those districts the real sentiment of the voters is, in two cases out of three, in favor of liberal measures. Sentiment alone, however, is useless, unless it knows how to express itself at the polls. And, in order to impart that knowledge to the multi-

tude of our friends, it is first necessary that we obtain it ourselves. To acquire that knowledge and apply it in practice through your organization requires a corps of trained experts. I will accept no hearsay reports. Every fact must be ascertained and every personality investigated on the ground itself, and in addition we must have the record of urban and rural populations in each district, showing the proportion of the so-called foreign element; the character of the saloon element, with the names of those fitted to lead and direct the others in election work; the strength of the labor organizations and their affiliations, whose interest is enlisted by our friends in the labor movement for the sake of the hundreds of thousands of our brothers whose livelihood is threatened by prohibition. In short, there is work here, if it is to be done systematically and effectively, for a very large staff of capable and experienced men; and when they have completed it, and we have dissected and tabulated it, and planned our fight in each district on the foundation it gives us, then our real work only commences, and every organization affiliated with us, including labor bodies, liberty leagues, alliances of so-called foreign citizens, saloon keepers' associations, and others, is called upon to send out its representatives who, with the knowledge imparted to them from our headquarters, proceed under our direction to rally their forces at the polls and there bring our labors to their final conclusion. . . .

If I asked you to state who are the best, the strongest, and the stanchest friends our industry possesses in this country, you would give me only one correct answer. They are the millions and millions of falsely described foreign citizens, to whom America in reality owes as much of her greatness to-day as she does to the descendants of her original settlers, and, gentlemen, certainly a goodly portion of her enlightenment and her intellectual supremacy. . . . What keeps these ideals, that love of liberty, that independent spirit, and that hatred of hypocritical pretense, alive in these people? One thing, and one only: the language in which they learned to formulate their views of life and their ideals of manhood and citizenship. What is the main influence that keeps that language

alive in our country, and transmits it from generation to generation? It is the foreign press.

Gentlemen, I tell you that the death of every foreign newspaper in this country, with few solitary exceptions, means the removal of a stone in the foundation upon which our industry is based. And how many of them are gradually going under, not for lack of readers, but for lack of those means which every newspaper requires in order to maintain and increase its circulation—the income from its advertising columns?

Don't starve the foreign press, but feed it, help it, support it, wherever you find it and however small you find it, to the very utmost limit of your means and powers. I am not asking this of you as a sacrifice, because it is no sacrifice. You will profit by it twofold. For doesn't a man seek such channels of advertisement as reach those who are likely to buy his product, rather than those who are not likely to buy it? Advertising is paid for in exact proportion to the circulation of the advertising medium. When you advertise in an English paper, you reach a reading public of which probably only 50 or 60 per cent are ever likely to respond to your advertisement. When you advertise in a foreign-language paper, you reach a reading public of which nearly 100 per cent are likely purchasers of your product. In the one case you get fifty or sixty cents on the dollar invested as a return. In the other you get one hundred cents. Is there a question of which is best as a mere business proposition? [1]

He organized, as a subsidiary of the Brewers' Association, the National Association of Commerce and Labor, composed of representatives of industries directly or indirectly dependent upon the brewing industries. It was from the funds of this organization that the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was paid for its services.

Andrae spent, in the three years in which he was in

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda.* Report and Hearings of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, vol. i, p. 953. Quoted remarks of Percy Andrae.

the service of the Brewers' Association, a little over $800,000. Of this sum it has been estimated that Hammerling got about $200,000. Most of this was for the personal services of Mr. Hammerling and the association. The only advertising contracts to which reference is made in the very complete reports of the Senate committee is one for $10,000 for 120 inches, one insertion in 68 papers covering a period of five months, and several minor contracts amounting to $1,644, with small papers in Cleveland, Toledo, and Cincinnati, Ohio, for advertising "home rule in Lucas County" and elsewhere.

Most of the large sums spent with the association were for translating into twenty-seven languages, twice a month, a single article of 1,000 words. These articles were written by Andrae, signed by Hammerling, and published in the *Leader*. This paper was a sort of house organ and advertising sheet for the association, but Hammerling knew how to make others pay even for this. He charged the brewers for translating and sending out this article $1,400 a month. He charged them office rent for the translators, for typewriters to copy it, for dictionaries to read it, and he charged them something like $8,000 a year for subscriptions to the *Leader*, in which the article was printed. He even charged them one year—and Hammerling was a Jew—$2,518 for Christmas presents for his office force.

For sending the *Leader* with Andrae's articles on personal liberty, Hammerling rendered the following bill in 1915:

624 rabbis	$ 936
2,002 priests	3,003
1,700 ministers	2,550
1,358 German and French papers	2,032
206 Polish sokols	309
	$8,830

Meanwhile the foreign-language papers, to whom Hammerling had become almost indispensable, printed the "personal liberty" articles without any recompense—at least Hammerling says they did. Many of them were, no doubt, glad to get them. The articles expressed their wishes and spared them the effort of composition. Hammerling testified before the Senate committee that about half the papers printed the articles sent them. If this is true, the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was able to function, in this instance at least, as a press bureau rather than as an advertising agency. The difference is that an advertising agency pays for newspaper space, a press bureau does not.

Among the other services for which Hammerling submitted bills to the so-called National Association of Commerce and Labor was one for $1,231.92 for telegrams to 96 Senators and 435 Congressmen at $2.32 each. The telegram is as follows:

> The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, with a circulation of over 7,000,000, reaching 20,000,000 citizens, protests emphatically on behalf of the overwhelming majority of those citizens against Hobson, the resolution providing for national prohibition. Our people consider same unwarranted interference with rights guaranteed them under the Federal Constitution, and will resent the passage of the resolution, which is designed to destroy their most cherished customs and deprive citizens generally of the individual liberty which is as dear to them as life itself. Almost entire foreign-language press has for the past three months voiced this sentiment in strongest possible terms and with full concurrence of its millions of readers.[1]

Another statement of account is as follows:

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, p. 493.

NEW YORK, September 21, 1914.

Mr. Percy Andrae, 3357 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

To the *American Leader*, Dr., published by the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., 912-26 Woolworth Building.

To accommodations for L. N. Hammerling and E. H. Jaudon at Statler Hotel, from September 18th to September 20th, inclusive, as per hotel statement attached, and expenses for L. N. Hammerling	$194.64
To drinks and cigars at Bohemian Club	30.00
To taxicabs	15.00
To telegrams	4.90
To long-distance telephone calls to different parts of Ohio	9.80
To tips, including those at publishers' luncheon	22.00
To drinks with publishers after luncheon	10.00
To Sunday automobile—luncheon with six priests and four publishers	53.00
Total	$339.34

At a meeting of the United States Brewers' Association, October 15, 1915, Percy Andrae, the press agent of the Brewers' Association and president of the National Association of Commerce and Labor, in explaining the services which Hammerling and his associates had rendered the cause, spoke a little incoherently, but the drift of his remarks is clear enough. He said:

Now, let me give you one single illustration. Now, in Cleveland, at this date, just as it was done a year ago through the instrumentality of that press and the people who surround it—and the people who surround it, gentlemen, do not work for nothing—we have schools—you can go to Cleveland to-day and I can take you around in Cleveland from locality to locality where there are schools, and in a great many instances the priests of the foreign elements are there before the blackboard showing the voters, and in a great many cases the leaders are the spiritual advisers. For instance, I will give you one instance when, three or four weeks ago, Mr. Hammerling was in Cleveland. The president of this association, a man whom they worship throughout

the country because he has done so much for them, had the clergy of this city belonging to this element come together, and he laid out the policy to be pursued in their churches, in their congregations, in their schools, and the necessary instruction is being given day and night. That can be done everywhere. It has been done in Youngstown, in Toledo and wherever this press is.[1]

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

Hammerling's dealings with the German propaganda in this country were on a still larger scale. It is likely that he succeeded in getting the larger share of the money that was expended by the German and Austrian governments to influence the foreign-language press in the United States.

His greatest coup was the publication, April 5, 1915, in all the important English daily papers, of "An Appeal to the American People" to stop, in the name of humanity, the manufacture and shipment to Europe of munitions of war. The appeal was signed, or purported to be signed, by 450 publishers of foreign-language papers. For this Hammerling received $204,900. He was able to account for $48,138, which he says was paid to the John E. Mahan Advertising Agency, which placed the advertisement with the English papers. The money was paid in cash by Dr. Heinrich Albert, the German agent in the United States, through Doctor Rumely. There was some difficulty about the final payment. Albert seems to have insisted on vouchers for all the money expended, and visited Hammerling in his home before the last check for $4,900 was paid. Hammerling says that when he

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, p. 1194. Minutes of an executive session of the United States Brewers' Association, held at the Hotel Kimball, Springfield, Massachusetts, Friday, October 15, 1915, at 11 A.M.

attempted to cash this check the bank reported that there were no funds to meet it. "I finally went over to see the man Albert, and had it out with him, and finally got the money from Rumely."

Dr. Edward A. Rumely had negotiated with Hammerling in regard to an appeal in the foreign-language press. Hammerling testified, however, that at his (Hammerling) suggestion it was determined to publish the appeal in the English press.

On the day of publication (April 6, 1915) Hammerling is quoted in the New York *Times* as having made this statement:

> I accept full responsibility for it. No German propagandist or German interest whatever is concerned in it. The money was contributed through a campaign I started on August 14th last. Individuals, societies, churches, and other organizations gave to the fund.[1]

Hammerling denied the interview in his testimony before the Senate committee, but Hammerling was often quite reckless in his denials. He even denied that he knew that this appeal was in the interest of the Germans or that he was getting paid from German sources.

In his testimony before the Senate committee Hammerling explained that the "Appeal to Humanity" was an advertisement. "I wanted the advertisement. Times were hard and I thought it good business to get it."

HAMMERLING'S POWER

Besides these political and semipolitical activities, Mr. Hammerling and the association did a great deal of work for manufacturers and employers of labor, settling

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, p. 552.

strikes and dealing with labor troubles. Through his connection with the editors of the foreign-language papers he was in a position at once to advise employers and to act, directly and indirectly, as a mediator between them and their employees. For this sort of service, it is said, he shrewdly refused any remuneration. Yet it was this personal service, rendered at critical periods during an election or a strike, that gave him prestige with the brewers and other big national advertisers. It put him into confidential relations with big business men, and not only enabled him to get advertising for the foreign-language papers, but permitted him to dispose of the advertising funds intrusted to him pretty much as he saw fit.

No one pretended to know the value of advertising in the foreign-language papers outside of the German and Scandinavian papers. The result was that Hammerling could give advertising or he could take it away. He could promise the struggling little publisher that he would either make him or break him, and experience seemed to prove that he was able to keep his word. In this way, at any rate, all the advertising the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers handled tended to enhance Hammerling's prestige and increase his personal influence. In time he secured an almost complete monopoly of advertising in the foreign-language papers. The efforts of smaller agencies to compete with the association almost always failed, and Hammerling was able to mediatize them, so to speak—that is, compel them to come into his organization, where they held the position of vice-presidents, but were, in fact, mere clerks and advertising solicitors.

He gained, within a few years, such an ascendancy over editors and publishers that the men to whom he sold his services—politicians, business men, brewers, and distillers, and the German government—seemed

to have gained the impression that his control of the foreign-language press was absolute.

THE ASSOCIATION AT WORK

The testimony of Arthur Gabriel, one of the officers of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, throws a good deal of light on the functioning of the association, not only from what Mr. Gabriel tells, but from what he was unable to tell. Gabriel was connected with Hammerling's agency from 1909 to 1917. During this period he served in every capacity from office boy to vice-president. Like other vice-presidents of the association he was, in fact, merely an advertising solicitor. "The main reason why Mr. Hammerling gave us titles," Mr. Gabriel testified, "was, as he explained to us, to raise our standing, so that if we went to see Mr. Lorillard, of the P. Lorillard company, he would know that he was talking to a vice-president."

Gabriel was vice-president from 1914 to 1917, but he seems to have known very little about the business. Although Hammerling was popularly supposed to be president of a semipublic organization, the nature, methods, and earnings of the business were a secret that Hammerling shared only with his private secretary, Bertha W. Leffler. The books of the association were destroyed annually. He signed the minutes of the corporation, but he did not know what they contained.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ARTHUR GABRIEL

Question.—Will you tell us what the nature of the corporation, the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, was—what it was composed of, and what its purposes and activities were?

Answer.—Well, as far as I know, during my connection their purpose was simply to solicit advertising from the various large corporations in the country, and to take action on any matters pertaining to foreigners, such as any legislative matter that may come up before the Senate or Congress of the United States; to co-operate in every which way with the advertiser in regard to his products—like, for instance, some states were voting against the cigarette bill, or to stop the sale of cigarettes or snuff; to go down to those states and help these cigarette and tobacco companies to have that bill defeated; practically to help the advertiser in every which way. For instance, if a strike would occur with some concern like the Standard Oil Company.

Q.—Was that handled through the foreign-language newspapers in the locality where the legislation was pending?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Or where the labor difficulty existed?

A.—Yes; going to that locality.

Q.—And the foreign-language newspapers were used as the vehicle for propaganda work and for opposing legislation that was detrimental to the advertising?

A.—Yes, Major. . . .

Q.—Was any effort made to promote the interests of advertisers through the influence of charitable or beneficial organizations?

A.—Not that I remember.

Q.—There have been some bills from the association offered in evidence here, showing dinners that were given and banquets that were given to priests and others at various times.

A.—The only banquet I remember given to a priest was at the Plaza Hotel. That was in 1916, I believe in November, to the Monsignor Jelatsky. He was just then given the monsignorship by Cardinal Farley. At that dinner Cardinal Farley was present and, of course, some of the priests, and Doctor Rumely and Mr. Hammerling and myself. That was the only dinner I ever attended where priests were present. . . .

Q.—Now, will you state if at any time you saw Ambassador von Bernstorff come to Mr. Hammerling's office?

A.—I saw Von Bernstorff at Hammerling's office sometime in March, I believe, of 1915. . . .

Q.—Was Mr. Hammerling in the office then?

A.—There was a long private hall, and there were three private offices, the doors from which led on to this hall, and down at the right of this hall was Mr. Hammerling's office. My office was the center office, and I happened to come out into that private hall and I remember seeing Von Bernstorff. I recognized him instantly, because he had this long coat with a Persian-lamb collar, I think it is, and he had his hat off and had just stepped into Mr. Hammerling's office.

Q.—Mr. Hammerling's private office?

A.—His private office. After that I did not see him any more.

Q.—How long was he there, so far as you know?

A.—That I do not know, Senator, because from Mr. Hammerling's private office there was an exit to the hall.

Q.—State how long after that it was the activities with regard to this appeal [the appeal of the foreign-language editors to the United States to stop the shipment of munitions to the Allies] commenced?

A.—The activities started sometime in March, toward the end of March. It was perhaps two weeks before the appeal appeared.

Q.—Tell us what you know about that appeal and any conversation that you may have had with Mr. Hammerling relative to that. . . .

A.—Before the advertising appeal came out I was called into Mr. Hammerling's private office—I believe it was on a Friday evening. He called me in alone, and Miss Leffler was present there, and he said: "Arthur, I want you to take your wife and take her to Bethlehem, give her a good time, and spare no expense; take a private car if necessary. Go there and find the percentage of foreigners working in the munition plants up there. Go to saloons, go to headquarters, and go to the priests and rabbis if necessary, and bring me back the data there whether they are satisfied with the working conditions, the average earning, what they are earning per week, and bring that data back." I did not leave the next day—

I was supposed to leave the next day, but the next day was Saturday—but I left on Sunday morning, and instead of taking my wife I went to a college friend of mine, Doctor Davidson, and I said, "Ralph, I am going to South Bethlehem, and I have got the money and will pay all expenses, and you come along with me." The two of us went to South Bethlehem, and we stayed at the Eagle Hotel up there, and got the information. He went to the Italian priests and spoke with them and got the data on the percentage of Italians there. We finally brought the data back as to how many people there were and whether they were satisfied with conditions; but we were instructed not to go near the munition plant. So that I believe that I got back Wednesday of that week; and all of us boys that were sent on this trip. . . .

Q.—Were there others sent at the same time?

A.—Oh, yes; there was a Mr. Dattner who was sent to Bridgeport, Mr. G. H. Berg was sent through the New England states, Mr. Momand was sent to Brooklyn, Mr. Leon Wazeter was sent somewhere in Philadelphia, I believe, and Henry Gabriel was sent to Utica.

So that when we came back we all met. Mr. Hammerling happened to be away for a few days, and we all met in the Woolworth in the Rathskeller and compared our expense accounts, so that one man who had a shorter trip would not charge more than one who had a longer trip, and then we submitted a bill. In fact, when I presented the bill to Mr. Hammerling, he said to me, "Is that all you spent?" So that then after that we each had a written report as to the percentage and signed our names.

Then after that the copy was being prepared in the private office of Mr. Hammerling.

Q.—What copy?

A.—Of his appeal to the Americans. That was prepared in Mr. Hammerling's office by Mr. Momand and himself, and no one knew in the office what was going on in there.

Q.—Do you know whether Mr. Rumely had any part in the preparation of it?

A.—Doctor Rumely was quite frequently there, but at the time while this was going on in the private office it was

mostly Mr. Hammerling, Mr. Momand, and Mr. Rankin of the Rankin agency to-day; and I happened to go after that to the Empire City Electrical Company, and happened to see a copy of the appeal, which the Empire company was making, so that naturally I read the appeal, and when I got to my office G. H. Berkel happened to come in there—in fact, he had his desk in my office also—and my brother was there, packing electrotypes, and he came in my office and said he heard on the street that Hammerling was being paid by the Austro-German government. With this information he goes in to Hammerling. Hammerling then calls me on the wire—an extension wire—and asks me do I know a man named Dresiecksi. I told him yes, because he was the publisher of the Polish pictorial weekly, the *Krij*, which means in English "country." He told me that it was charged that he was receiving German money. I told him across the wire, "Why, Mr. Hammerling, it is an open secret among the Poles in New York that you are supplied by the Austro-German government."

Then about ten minutes later Mr. Hammerling came to my office with his hat and coat on, and beckoned for me to come into his private office, which I did, and there were Miss Leffler, Mr. Hammerling, and myself alone. Then he spoke of this, and said what do I know about it. I said: "That is all I know. That is all I hear among the Polish people here in New York, that you are being paid by the Austro-German government." With that, he turns to Miss Leffler and asks did she say anything to her sister Margaret.

Q.—Margaret was also an employee there?

A.—She was also an employee there. She was a sister of Bertha. She says, "No." With that, Hammerling turns to me and says: "A thur, whatever you know, keep your mouth shut. Whatever people do not know will not hurt them." Then I sat for a while with Bertha Leffler talking, and I says, "Isn't it true?" She would not admit or deny it. So that at the end of that week—I don't know whether it was that week, but I know the next pay day it was—I received in my envelope, I can't say whether it was $500 or $1,000 as a bonus. In fact, everybody in the office, from the office boy up, re-

ceived some sort of a gift at that time. That is all I remember about the appeal.

Q.—You got $500 extra.

A.—I really do not know, Senator, whether it was $500 or $1,000, because I was getting money every month or every second month, I didn't know what for. At Christmas time I got as high as $2,000; and when my girl was born Hammerling paid the bills without my asking him, so that I do not know what I got the money for that time.

Q.—Did you suppose you were getting the advertisers' money?

A.—No; I supposed I got the money to keep my mouth shut. . . .

Q.—Will you state just how Mr. Hammerling or this association conducted its business with the foreign-language newspapers?

A.—Well, for instance, there would be an advertisement; I would be, for instance, sent to see the P. Lorillard company, and they wanted to advertise the Zyra cigarettes, and I would come back, and Mr. Hammerling and myself, as a rule, would choose the papers, what papers would receive the advertising, and how much they were to receive. Sometimes the papers were given according to rate cards, like the Scandinavian—the Scandinavian we had to strictly abide by the rates—but some of the Polack papers, for instance, you would pay them anything. Say you paid them 20 per cent, they would take it. We would give them an amount and then submit this amount to the client, and then we would get an O.K. on the copy and on the list, because the average American advertiser, it is my experience with the foreign press, did not know practically anything about the foreign press—that is to say, the value of each individual publication. I could go up to the Standard Oil Company people and tell them that this paper in Bridgeport was a better paper than any in New York, and they would take my word for it; but they did not know the value of the publication or what its reputation was; so that whatever our pay was would be O.K., and it would be shipped to the newspapers and they would pay the bill accordingly.

Q.—You would make 30 or 40 cents an inch and put in for 20 cents?

A.—We used to get as high as $1.50 an inch and give a quarter. It all depends on what the people would take.

Q.—In other words, instead of doing business on a given basis, you charged the advertiser as much as you could and paid the newspapers as little as you could?

A.—It all depended on the advertiser. If the advertiser was easy, we would figure the estimate accordingly. If the advertiser sometimes would pass his advertising through an American agency, and then they would begin to ask us to give them sworn statements as to circulation and go into the details of the publication, then perhaps he would come down even to 10 per cent, and many a time we took the business at a loss just to get the business. It all depended on who the advertiser was.

Q.—Did you ever find out from Mr. Hammerling, in the regular conduct of the business, about the advertising of this appeal and the amount received for that advertisement and the amount paid to the several newspapers?

A.—I never did. That was kept secret right in that room, as I said before. I did not know anything about it.[1]

Frank Zotti, editor of the *Narodni List*, who seems to have done more than anyone else to bring the operations of the Hammerling association into public view, is undoubtedly a biased witness; but part of his testimony before the Senate committee, while it adds no new facts, makes the nature of the influence which the association exercised over the foreign-language press more intelligible. In answer to the question of Major Humes of the Senate committee, "How was the association organized?" Zotti said:

It was organized for the purpose of getting political advertising mostly, and through the influence of this political advertisement to secure patronage of large corporations, and

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, pp. 625–632.

through that patronage to subdue or at least control these smaller newspapers that were barely making an existence; and eventually to put Mr. Hammerling in the position of a dictator to the foreign-language press. . . . The first gathering was at the Republican Club, when the first banquet was given. . . . It was not what I would call a success compared with the other subsequent gatherings, but it was a sort of an initial introduction. . . . Mr. George B. Cortelyou was the man [of prominence] at that banquet, and there were a few members of the Cabinet at that time. . . . Mr. Hammerling presided. . . . He was introduced by Mr. Cortelyou as the "president of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers duly elected by this great body of foreign-language publications." Mr. Cortelyou may have been very sincere in the matter. On the other hand, from a political standpoint, it may happen to both parties, where a man of his caliber was a good business proposition, to show to his party that he had a man like Hammerling, president of an organization of 500 or 600 foreign newspapers, and able to deliver the goods at any time—to serve the purpose for his own ends. . . . There were quite a few advertising representatives of big corporations present. . . . I believe the Standard Oil Company was represented, the Telephone Company, the American Tobacco Company, and a few others. The second banquet was really the debut. . . . The next year, at the Knickerbocker, in 1910. There Mr. Cortelyou was even more pronounced in his eulogy of Louis N. Hammerling. The banquet was a real success. The presents advertised before the banquet, to be distributed to the guests, were to cost $15 or $20. Each man that came to the banquet would get a present of a match box of gold, like this [indicating], and a cigar cutter and knife, and besides that his dinner; and we were told that the entire Cabinet of the United States, including the good soul Mr. Taft, would be there, and that from that time on no publisher of a foreign-language newspaper need go out to borrow any money from the banks to exist, because it would come from all sources. . . . I remember distinctly that Senator Penrose eulogized Mr. Hammerling, and my friends Congressmen Goldfogle and Bennet; and,

the fact was, it was understood at that time, or at least I understood it, that all these big corporations would open their coffers, and that Mr. Hammerling's patronage would amount to millions of dollars. . . . It was the easiest matter in the world to present the case; to say: "Here is Hammerling sitting in the middle, with the Cabinet of the United States alongside him, and the Attorney-General eulogizing him. The best thing we can do is to open our purses and let some of that long green flow, and with his influence he can turn things around and do things; he represents such a great body of men, these publishers."[1]

In answer to the question as to Hammerling's business dealings with the papers in the association, Zotti said:

It was not conducted as a legitimate business. It was: make as much as you can from the advertisers and pay as little as you can to the publisher, except to a few publishers who would stand by the rates, where he could not butt in. For instance, to-day I am receiving advertisements from the Standard Oil Company and from the Edison company through Hammerling. He is bound to give it to me. He attempted to take it away, but they said, "We want that paper because the paper has a circulation." Also, the Consolidated Gas Company. But he still handles the advertisements. He is compelled to give it to me by the corporations themselves, upon the merits of the paper. . . . As have explained, papers that were not on a stable basis and that needed his help, as I would say, and were afraid to fight him personally, were naturally controlled through him, by always the same threat, "We will withdraw all the patronage"; like, for instance, in the personal-liberty matter. I never spoke to him about it, and never wanted it, although I knew he was getting paid so much per line. I know I saved other publishers, who did not publish that. But then there were others, because the easiest way was the best way, and they did not want to get into trouble with this man who was giving them

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, p. 640.

$10,000, $20,000, and $30,000 a year's advertising; and they took the advertisements and published them. . . . What we would call those papers which are absolutely dependent—and there are some in New York, with good circulations, and in Chicago and other great centers—they are different. They did not care. You take the *Progresso*, and the *Italo-Americano*, and the big Italian dailies, they do not care. . . . Other papers whose publishers, as I said, would rather travel the easiest way and get the money, took the money and kept quiet. The little papers in the little towns, naturally he has been manipulating them any old way he wanted to. For instance, this fellow Jaudon, who was auditor of the Hammerling institution, explained to me—he is now in the Marine Corps, United States Navy—that the Standard Oil Company advertisement would go to several of these foreign papers outside, little papers that had 1,000 circulation throughout the state, and as soon as they would get the 30-inch advertisement for the second insertion they would receive a letter from Hammerling stating that their paper has no circulation and that the company wants to withdraw that, but that he will use his influence so that the company will keep the advertisement, but that he cannot pay them the rate. He would pay him a little less rate, if he gets the advertisement again, but he would advise the publisher to keep the "ad" for the time being, and show his good will. In this way a good many of those poor fellows kept the "ad" for fifty-two weeks and got paid for two weeks. Mr. Hammerling collected the balance of fifty weeks from the Standard Oil Company, and pocketed it.

There were other instances of trimming of newspapers for which Jaudon was paid; they skinned them out of so many insertions a week. He [Jaudon] was getting extra presents to do that.[1]

The testimony of Frank Zotti, describing the manner in which the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers was formed, and the control it exercised over the foreign-language press, is confirmed by a less

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, pp. 644–645.

sophisticated witness, Mr. Dushan Popovich, editor of the *Serb Sentinel* of New York City. The *Sentinel* is a struggling little weekly, but is distinguished by the fact that it is one of the papers that refused to sign the "Appeal to the American People," and was, in consequence, promptly punished for insubordination. The *Sentinel* was one of the first papers to become a member of Hammerling's organization. Mr. Popovich's testimony is as follows:

He [Hammerling] came to me asking me if I would take an advertisement for my paper. I said, "Oh, yes, why not?" So that he asked me for rates. I told him my rate—I think 25 cents per inch—and he brought right away advertisements, and I can't say how much, but he paid me. Every first, in the morning, there was a bill and check in the mail, over there, all the time. . . .

He said to me that I can get advertisements from him under one condition only—if I buy shares in this association; so that I said to him that I don't want to buy any shares; I have no money for buying shares. I don't know the man, and to come right away and ask me to buy a hundred dollars of stock—so that he says, "You must not pay that. I will give you advertisements, and every month I will deduct so much, and I will give you the shares." So this, in that way I got the advertisements and they were paid for, and in the same way I got the shares, too—two shares. . . .

From the beginning I did not get much [advertising]. I got about—I don't remember exactly—from $15 to $25 a month, and gradually it was always more and more, so that I had—up until he put that appeal before me that I should sign—I had then about $70 or $80 a month. . . . He sent Mr. Gabriel to me. . . . He came to my office at 384 Second Avenue one afternoon, as much as I can remember, after dinner, and said to me, "Mr. Popovich, please sign that; Mr. Hammerling would like if you would sign it." So that before I sign something I want to see what I am signing; and I started to read one line, two lines, three lines, and then it was perfectly clear to me what it is. I read a little further,

and so I found out that he wants that I should sign an appeal to the American people that they should stop manufacturing munitions, and stop sending munitions to our allies. As a good Serbian, and a good American citizen, too, I got angry right away, and I said to him, in high words, "Mr. Gabriel, tell to Mr. Hammerling that Mr. Popovich will never sign that."

As soon as he went on the street, after two or three minutes, I took the telephone receiver, and I telephoned right away to the Serbian Vallie, to Mr. Rankovich; I said to him, "Mr. Rankovich, was Mr. Gabriel in your office to-day?" He said, "No." I said: "Well, he is coming right away. He is coming in a few minutes to get you to sign something, and you may not look at it. Do not sign what he will bring there. You are a busy man, and maybe you will not look at it; he is giving you so many advertisements every month and maybe you will be careless and sign that, and it is against our Serbian-American interests." I told him what it is "and please inform your interpreter right away"—there is an interpreter on the daily Serbian papers—"and let them know not to do that"; and he did that, he informed the daily Serbian papers, and I saw an editorial he wrote the next day, or a few days later; I found out that the Bohemian papers had sent letters right away throughout the country to the other Bohemian papers that they should not sign this appeal.

So that this was not enough for me, that I have telephoned to Mr. Rankovich, and I telephoned right away to Mr. Hammerling, too, and I said that "as a member of our association I am protesting that you should send to the members to sign something like that." Then he said to me, "Well, Mr. Popovich, you can do what you want to, but I advise you that if you do not sign this appeal you will be sorry for that." These are the words he said to me . . . in the next two or three months, gradually . . . of course, he did not stop all advertisement at once, but in a very short time—I do not remember exactly how many days—but in three or four months or four or five months . . . he drops from $70 to $80 a month to $4 a month, and taking his 10 per cent for his services, I got about $3.60 a month advertising from

him. Since about two months I have not a cent, and I am not sorry for that, because as a Serbian, and as a good American citizen, I could not sign that, never.[1]

Popovich was one of the men whom Hammerling employed to translate the "personal liberty" articles from the *Leader*, for which he charged the brewers $200 a month. He paid Popovich for the work $10, and this included the setting and printing of proofs for distribution to other Serbian papers.

I hear yesterday he got $200 a month for that from the Serbian administration, and he was paid separately for those ten proofs, mailing them; so that I see he did me wrong. He is a rich man and I am struggling very hard since twenty years. I have a little printing office, where I spent about $20,000 for three linotype machines, and so on, old machinery, and I don't know whether it is worth now $5,000; and after spending my whole life on it . . . and he takes from me these few dollars. . . .[2]

HAMMERLING HIMSELF

It is not possible to understand the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers in all its diverse operations apart from the man who created and controlled it. Louis N. Hammerling is one of the most interesting and problematic personalities which the conditions of American life have produced out of the raw stuff of European immigration. Considered as a type, he falls in the class which, in the report of these studies on *Old World Traits Transplanted*, has been characterized as the *allrightnick*, using a term which was first given currency by Abraham Cahan in the Jewish *Forward*. An *allrightnick* is, first of all, an immigrant who succeeds, but in doing so abandons all his traditional loyalties. In extreme cases he becomes a

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, pp. 621–623.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 624.

man without the ties of country, kin, or religion. Hammerling is such a man. It would not be fair to say that he is the ordinary and natural product of an over-hasty Americanization. The sudden rise to wealth and influence of this obscure immigrant is, nevertheless, one of the most characteristic incidents of American life. Hammerling, it is safe to say, could not have happened in any other part of the world.

Louis N. Hammerling was born in the province of Galicia in either 1870 or 1874. He was never quite certain of his age, according to his own confession, until 1915, when he was in danger of being drafted into the army. Then, through his relatives, he discovered that he was born in 1870. At any rate, on February 25, 1915, when he made application for a marriage license in Brooklyn, he swore that he was born in 1874. But Hammerling says that he did this merely to make later statements consistent with his first, when he took out his naturalization papers in 1901. At that time he stated that he was born in Hawaii. His explanation in this case was that he thought everyone was permitted, upon entering this country, to choose his own birthplace. He had been to Hawaii, and liked the climate.

In testimony before Alfred, assistant to the Attorney-General of New York, Hammerling said:

"I was driven out of home at nine years old. I am sorry to say anything against my own people, a disagreeable family. My father did not make two dollars a week in Austrian money, and I was one of five children. Then he married a second time, and then the third time, but this was during my time. I was taken away by a peasant out of a matter of mercy, inasmuch as my people were Jewish by race; I was not, and this peasant took me away to make a Christian out of me; that was his idea. That is the way the peasants are taught to help to make Christians, and he took me with him as far as Bremen, Germany, and there we went on a boat. By his money he took me to Upper Lehigh, Pennsylvania, near Hazleton. In a few weeks he found he had a brother there; that he was working in the mines 3,000 feet under-

ground. At least, I was too young to remember; for quite a few thousand kronen—he had another relative in the Hawaiian Islands, and he took me there, and we went to that place, where I claimed citizenship, and the Almighty was there, and the greatest scenery on earth, beautiful climate, that I have ever seen, and I worked for him eighteen months with the Japs, Chinese, and Negroes, in the sugar plantations, and it was good, and I loved it, and I began to be a great lover of the country." [1]

Hammerling first came to the United States in 1879, when he was nine years old. He was in New York some months and then went into Upper Lehigh in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. He was there for about five years. About that time, as Hammerling says, "the Molly Maguires began killing people." The man who brought him over went to work on a farm. Hammerling went back to New York and worked in a restaurant, and after a few months returned to Europe. At that time he was about fourteen years old.

In 1896 or 1897, he says, he was called to serve in the army. He made his escape to Bremenhafen, Germany, and from there he shipped to Hawaii. Apparently Hammerling and his "colleagues," as he calls them, went to Hawaii as contract laborers, as redemptioners, who engaged to work out their passage by work on the sugar plantations.

"We were practically sold out by some German crooks there. . . . Most of my colleagues who came with me died from the hardships and the way we were getting licked. I still have three marks on my back from the treatment that I received. . . .

". . . A German concern called Hachfeld & Heizenberg contracted with the assistance of the American consul to send us on that boat. We had to work for five years for nothing, and of the 500 of us who went on that boat, about 300 of them died, and the rest ran away. I was one of them that ran away. We went away on a United States transport ship; if I remember right, it was the *Alameda*. We slept under the beds. The soldiers took us for mercy." [2]

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[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, p. 546.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 537, 545.

In 1889 Hammerling was in Wilkes-Barre, working as a timber man in the mines. He worked there three or four years, and during this time became connected with a newspaper. In 1904 he was invited by Senators Quay and Penrose to come to New York to handle the foreign-language papers in the campaign for that year, and four years later he was elected a delegate to the Republican national convention. This same year he organized the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, and through it dispensed the Republican political advertising during the campaign of that year.

The interesting thing about Hammerling from the point of view of Americanization is his constant insistence that in all his political and business transactions he has conformed to the American political and business customs as he found them.

When, on cross-examination before the Senate committee, he was charged with purchasing the influence of foreign-language papers in return for the advertising he was able to offer them, Hammerling replied:

"The average papers, including the largest in the United States, support their advertisers in different ways. I am simply doing what I learned in this country from the American newspaper people in the way they are doing it. There is hardly an advertiser who is not asked if he wants something in that paper when he advertises."

Major Humes said: "Then your practice in conducting your advertising business is to undertake to use your influence to deliver the editorial support of the paper to the advertisers, no matter who the advertisers are. Is that correct?"

"It is, in a general proposition, Major." [1]

The following testimony in regard to the local political conditions in the anthracite region and in New York City illustrates the way in which an ignorant immigrant is likely to misinterpret the meaning and intention of American democracy.

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, pp. 592–593.

Question.—With reference to your naturalization, and the naturalization that was being carried on in the locality in which you resided at the time of your naturalization, was it a common practice there for aliens to be naturalized without regard to the length of residence in this country?

Answer.—Before elections; yes, sir.

Q.—Before elections it was a common practice to bring in a lot of aliens and get hem naturalized so as to qualify them for voters?

A.—That was my knowledge.

Q.—Was there an organized effort being made in that community to carry on this practice?

A.—I do not say in that community. It was all over the coal region.

Q.—All over the anthracite coal region?

A.—Yes, sir; to my knowledge.

Q.—Were there certain men there who made a business of rounding up these aliens and getting them in and getting them naturalized?

A.—It did not require them. It was the county organizations; the political parties.

Q.—The political parties?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And you simply went along with that practice; one of these political organizations came to you and asked you to be naturalized, and they prepared your papers, and you paid no attention to them, and they went away?

A.—They were not prepared at all. It was a regular thing to just put in the name. That is the way citizenship was given. Now it is changed. It is the United States government. Before, it was a county court.

Q.—They naturalized you in order that you might vote in that election? Was that the reason?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Who was it that came to you?

A.—I do not remember, Senator.

Q.—Where were you at the time?

A.—Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. It is never more than about a week or two weeks before an election in that county

that they tell you who they want elected. There is nothing wrong about it. It is done. If we have some town like Duryea, the election is over whenever the parties on both sides agree that such man shall be elected.

I will give you an instance. We had a Congressman by the name of Henry W. Palmer, who was a very high-grade man. I worked under him in the United Charities. Mr. Palmer was a good man, but he recommended a postmaster not satisfactory to the Irish. In Wilkes-Barre they wanted a certain Irishman by the name of Athener. The district, as you gentlemen will see from the Congressional Directory, is overwhelmingly Republican, but we elected John T. Lanahan with an overwhelming majority as a Democrat, for the reason that those were the instructions from the bosses—I mean from Washington, whoever is the head of the party.

Q.—Naturalization frauds were a common practice up in the anthracite coal region?

A.—Nobody considered it a wrong thing to do. It was just done. When they were short of men in a certain district they used to send to another town—to Scranton—get a couple of carloads in, and vote them. That is absolutely true.

Q.—They sent them over by carloads?

A.—Yes; they sent them over by carloads. One man might go into ten different places to vote—I mean the less intelligent ones—not only foreigners, but everybody.

Q.—They repeated, then?

A.—Yes, nobody objected to it that I know of.[1]

Hammerling claims he never had a day of schooling in his life. It is part of the tradition which has grown up among his associates that he could not write the English language. He spoke English with reasonable correctness, however, when he was not excited, and dictated rapidly and fluently.

The founder of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers did not make a good witness in

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. i, pp. 608-609. Hammerling's testimony.

his testimony before the Senate committee. He was forced to admit that he was not a legal citizen of the United States; that he had obtained his naturalization papers by fraud and perjury; that his "association" was a shady sort of corporation, the officers of which were clerks and dummies, and that he was not even doing a legitimate advertising business, since he was selling the influence he gained as an advertising agent to influence legislation and political action through the foreign-language press.

Hammerling seems to have had a genius for personal intrigue and negotiation. He operated as a middleman between two groups of interests—the foreign-language press and American business—at a time when neither knew enough about the other to be able to negotiate successfully without expert assistance. His sudden rise was due to the fact that he was able to capitalize and sell to each his influence, real or pretended, with the other. This is not to minimize Hammerling's service to both. Hammerling was the first man who made any serious attempt to put advertising in the foreign-language papers on a sound business basis. But the opportunities for "honest" graft were large, and Hammerling exploited them with great ingenuity and success.

XVII

ENEMY PROPAGANDA AND GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

The first serious public attempt to control the utterances of the immigrant press was made during the World War, as part of the government's fight against enemy propaganda. Quite aside from its effect upon the successful conduct of the war, this attempt has had an important and continuing influence upon the development of the foreign-language press as an instrument of assimilation. Propaganda is now recognized as part of the grand strategy of war.

When the final history of the World War comes to be written, one of its most interesting chapters will be a description of the methods and devices which were used by the armies of both sides to destroy the will to war in the enemy's troops and among the peoples behind the lines. If the application of modern science to war has multiplied the engines of destruction, the increase of communication and the interpenetration of peoples has given war among civilized peoples the character of an internal or internecine struggle. Under these circumstances propaganda, in the sense of an insidious exploitation of the sources of dissension and unrest, may as completely change the character of wars as they were once changed by the invention of gunpowder.

The United States, at the time of declaring war, offered tremendous opportunities for enemy propaganda. There were grave doubts, considering the divi-

sion in popular sentiment and the heterogeneous elements of which our population was composed, whether the United States was capable of acting vigorously and as a unit.

It was estimated that 20,000,000 people in the United States were either German born or the descendants of German immigrants. The Irish immigrants and their descendants numbered, it was said, 15,000,000. Both the German and Irish were anti-English. The Swedes were inclined to side with the Germans. The Poles and Jews were anti-Russian. The Lithuanians and Ruthenians were against the Poles. The Jugoslavs were against the Italians, but divided in their allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Greeks were divided between Venizelos, the Prime Minister, and Constantine. The Czechs were against Austria and the Slovaks against Hungary.

Every nationality in the United States had its own special interest in the conflict, and regarded this country's participation in the war from the point of view of its separate national interest. Some of our immigrant peoples did not regard this country as a nation. It was merely a place in which people lived, like the Austrian Empire—a geographical expression. Finally, there were the Socialists, I. W. W.'s, pacifists, and anarchists, who were against the war on principle.

All these attitudes, except pacifism, were largely represented among the immigrant peoples and the immigrant press, and these materials the propagandists manipulated to the end of impeding our progress in the war.

FOUNDATIONS IN IMMIGRANTS' LOYALTY

From disclosures that were made during the World War, and since, it is now apparent that the leaders of the German people realized the power of propaganda

earlier and more completely than the peoples of other nations, and with that methodical procedure for which they are noted they made, long before the outbreak of the late war, detailed studies of the sources of actual and potential unrest in all the countries with which they were likely to come in conflict. On the basis of these studies they made their calculations and controlled their policies.

Long before the war, for example, Germany was active in establishing cultural colonies in every part of the world to which German commerce and German immigration had penetrated.

In the United States the task of keeping alive the German spirit and of making America, as far as possible, a cultural colony of Germany, was carried on largely under the auspices of the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Bund, otherwise known as the German-American Alliance, of which Charles J. Hexamer, an American-born German-American, was president. In 1907 this association was granted a national charter, and before the war it had 6,500 local societies "held together in the bonds of Germanism," as the *Alldeutsche Blätter* phrased it.

These societies, as soon as war was declared in Europe, became centers of German propaganda. A month after the opening of hostilities President Hexamer made the following announcement in the official organ, *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bundes:*

> In every city there should be a bureau of literature, with an efficient press agent established, a press agent who should react immediately in the language upon all hostile attacks and statements of ignorance of irresponsible reporters of English newspapers.[1]

[1] *Propaganda in Its Military and Legal Aspects*, Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division, General Staff, U. S. A., p. 80.

In Germany, and among German-Americans, public opinion in regard to Belgium was regarded as a mere reflection of English propaganda and the English press. This seemed not merely to justify German-Americans in doing something to counteract English influences, but to make such action a duty. The attitude of German-Americans, in the early stages of the war, at least, is probably pretty well reflected in a letter by Dr. K. L. Stoll to President Chas. W. Dabney of the University of Cincinnati, protesting against references to Germany made in a patriotic address. In concluding the letter, Doctor Stoll said:

> . . . Try to get familiar with the real causes of this terrible war and join me in this wish—may God Almighty smite those who caused the untold suffering of this war; may He punish them and their offspring; may He cause to be ashamed all those who twist and distort truth for no other reasons but hatred or hope of personal advantage. Let us fight for "right and honor!"
>
> Yours very respectfully,
> K. L. Stoll, M.D.[1]

German-Americans, who were leaders in the so-called German-American movement, felt that the whole English political tradition in America must be attacked and uprooted.

> The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty. It battles against narrow-hearted, dark know-nothingism, against the British influence, against zealotism which sprang from England, and against the slavery of Puritanism.[2]

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, pp. 2109–2110.

[2] *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bundes*, vol. vii, no. 9, p. 4.

It does not appear anywhere that the German-American Alliance conceived its cultural task in America to be essentially different from that, for example, of the American Scandinavian Foundation or the Jewish Menorah Society. These organizations and others have, as part of their purpose, the perpetuation among immigrants in this country of the tradition and culture of the mother countries. The chief difference was that the efforts to preserve the German culture assumed the character of a separatist movement. President Hexamer, for example, is reported to have said at a convention of German-Americans, "We have long suffered under the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated. You Germans must merge with the American people.' But no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture."

This speech and the whole behavior of the German-American Alliance have been given a more sinister interpretation. When, in 1918, the question of revoking the charter of the German Alliance came before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Gustavus Ohlinger, president of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce, stated that the purpose of the German Alliance was not merely to keep alive the German spirit and foster German culture, but was in fact and in purpose part of the military plan of the German General Staff to destroy the American national spirit.

"I say, advisedly, German military preparation against the United States began twenty years ago, and the same process was followed with the United States as was followed in so many other countries; that is, the policy of infiltration, of propaganda for the purpose of destroying the national spirit of a country."[1]

[1] *Propaganda in Its Military and Legal Aspects*, Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division, General Staff, U. S. A., p. 80.

There is danger of attributing omniscience to the German General Staff. There is evidence, however, at hand to show that Germany had foreseen the political and military as well as the commercial advantages of promoting German *Kultur* abroad. At any rate, long before the war, plans had been broached for converting the New York *Staats-Zeitung* into an English newspaper so that Germans might have a paper published in the vernacular to counteract the influence of England in American affairs.

It is not necessary to assume that all this extension of German influence had taken place merely to serve the military ambition of Germany. The fact is, however, that when war was actually declared, Germany was fully prepared to carry on an insidious warfare of propaganda and disorganization in almost every part of the world. Germany was particularly well prepared for this sort of campaign in the United States, where there were at that time 532 German papers, the editors of which were unquestionably more or less under the influence of "the new German spirit," which had been so sedulously cultivated in America since 1904 by the German-American Alliance and other German-American societies.[1]

Austrian, and more particularly Hungarian, intrigue had been busy in America long before the war, in building up indirect methods of control of the various racial and language groups. This machinery, already established, immediately became a means for further intrigue and exploitation after the war began in Europe and up to the entrance of the United States into the conflict.

In July, 1911, Baron Kornfeld, submanager of the General Credit Bank of Budapest, came to New York in order to

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 66, *Brewing and Liquor Interests*, etc., pp. 1681–1686.

establish in this country an organization known as the Transatlantic Trust Company. The Transatlantic Trust Company, upon investigation made during the war, turned out to be the agent for the United States of the Hungarian Postal Savings Bank. Its ostensible purpose was "to further and protect the interests of Hungarians in this country." As a matter of fact, its purpose was to monopolize, in the interest of the Hungarian government, the business of collecting and forwarding to the home country the earnings of Hungarian immigrants in this country. In other words, to take over, organize, and extend the business of the numerous little immigrant banks whose operations had long since become a scandal in the communities where they existed. However, "the Transatlantic Trust Company was not," as Mr. Lajos Steiner, an American Hungarian, testified, "a bank in the proper sense of the word. It was a pumping station whereby the savings of the Hungarian have been sucked out" and transmitted to Europe. The normal annual export of Hungarian savings amounted, according to Mr. Steiner, to $400,000,000 a year.

Incidentally, the Transatlantic Trust Company existed for the purpose of encouraging the return of the immigrant to his native country, and co-operated with the governmentally subsidized Hungarian churches to prevent the Americanization of the immigrants.

In answer to a question before the Senate committee, Mr. Steiner said:

". . . The Hungarian government had the idea of competing with our postal system, and to keep the immigrant away from everything American, and they carried it so far, as our records prove, that even the second generation, the American-born children, are being preserved for the old country with a view to their remigration."

Question.—Do they discourage the teaching of English in our schools?

Answer.—They do. One of the gentlemen, Major Crockett of the Military Intelligence, has been conducting an investigation, and has obtained much evidence. He wrote to me about six weeks ago that they had got hold of a prayer book

printed by this congregation, diocese (*sic*), which is subsidized by the Hungarian government, and that prayer book urges parents to keep their children out from the American public schools because otherwise they will become a loss to Hungary; and the respective section was finished with the sentence:

"The parent who sends his children to the American public school should be hanged."[1]

So close was the relation between the Transatlantic Trust Company and the subsidized Hungarian churches that on October 27, 1914, the following circular was sent out to the Hungarian churches of the Eastern diocese to be read to their congregations:

BELOVED BROTHER CO-RELIGIONISTS:

Your Superior Church Authority sends you a message, the Dean of your Diocese. He sends you the message that our sweet Hungarian Fatherland is in danger. All her arm-bearing sons have enrolled under the flag, and if 100 deaths are awaiting him, he takes his healthy life with determined readiness into the fire of the battle with this exclamation, "We will either triumph or we will die for the Fatherland!" But, out in the battle, only men fall. They left at home wives, children; and old people must live, and they, perhaps, are starving; because the breadwinner has gone to heroic battle—for all of us! Brothers! sorrow and poverty are at home. Children's lips are asking bread from sad mothers. Is it not true that you who are at home and can give enough bread to your children are happy in the thought? Oh, do you hear across the sea, no matter how great the ocean is, that many hundred thousands of poor Hungarians are exclaiming to you, "Help us, you who are in America!" Brothers! Those who have at home parents, children, brothers, or relatives in this famine, do not forget them; send them money, the more munificently, the more quantity, and the sooner, because he is not an Hungarian who in these awful days deserts his own people and allows his own blood relatives to be in misery.

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. ii, pp. 2833–2834.

And he who sends money home shall send it through the Transatlantic Trust Company (207 Second Avenue, New York), the money-sending blanks of which, after this service, will be distributed at the church door, and which money institution is in every respect reliable and which is *officially recommended* also for the support of our churches by the *Most Reverend and Right Honorable President of the Conventus.* Brothers! Hear my words, and then *act!* Send money home through the Transatlantic Trust Company to members of your family in Hungary, to your relatives, and every cent and every dollar of yours will be blessed!

All of you are greeted with love by

DR. ZOLTAN KUTHY,
The Dean of the American Eastern Reformed Diocese.[1]

The Hungarian government maintained its hold on both the Catholic and the Protestant Hungarian churches in this country through the salaries that were granted to the priests and ministers. The priests and ministers, in turn, became agents for the Transatlantic Trust Company, which, in the words of one of the witnesses, "used them as drummers and paid them a commission to get immigrant savings to export." This money, after its return to the home country, was used by the returned immigrants to purchase land. The effect was to increase enormously the price of farm land in Hungary. "Land which sold, twenty-five or thirty years ago, for $50 an acre, is selling, or was selling just before the war, for $500 an acre." In this way emigration has become for Hungary, as it has for Italy, a national speculation.

The control which the Hungarian government exercised directly over its churches, by the payment of salaries to the priests and ministers, was exercised indirectly over the Hungarian press through the medium of the advertising for which they were indebted to the Transatlantic Trust Company. Pirnitzer, in one year, spent $120,000 in advertisements in foreign-language papers and in printed circulars. In 1915 he had 1,005 "confidential agents" in the Hungarian colonies throughout the United States.

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. ii, p. 2816.

A letter to Count Tisza, Prime Minister of Hungary, assures him that the friendly relation of the Transatlantic Trust Company with prominent American-Magyar papers "will become still more intimate in the future, and that it will be possible after a while to put the American-Magyar press entirely into the service of the institution." [1]

The relation of the Austrian and Hungarian papers published in this country to their home government was apparent. There was, among the various immigrants from Austria and Hungary, no very genuine loyalty to the empire. The peoples of Austria-Hungary were much more concerned with their racial and territorial animosities than they were with the perpetuation of the empire.

The Hungarian government was able to control the Magyar papers because there was a strong nationalist sentiment among the Magyar people which was identified with the Hungarian government. With the other peoples the situation was indifferent. Most of the Croatian papers were, as Mr. Pirnitzer remarks in his letter to the directorate of the Transatlantic Trust Company in Budapest, antistate, even before America's entrance into the war. After America entered, the few editors who sold their columns to the enemy were completely ostracized and exercised little or no influence upon the masses of the people.

THE COURSE OF ENEMY PROPAGANDA

German propaganda was not, of course, confined to the foreign born and the immigrant press. American public opinion was the objective, of which immigrant opinion was only a part. The activities of German agents in the United States ranged from incendiarism and blowing up munition ships, to organizing the

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 62, vol. ii, p. 2888.

Friends of Peace and other antimilitarist movements. So far as the German agents in the United States were concerned, no clear distinction between incendiarism, criminal violence, and propaganda was ever made in the instructions contained in the *War Book of the German General Staff*.

Dr. Heinrich Albert and the German High Commission arrived in the United States August 15, 1914. This was days after the declaration of war. There were thirty-one persons in the party and they, together with Dr. Bernard Dernberg, who came to America about the same time, constituted, so to speak, the general staff of Germany's propaganda campaign in the United States. Doctor Dernberg, former German Colonial Secretary, was the head of the mission, and Doctor Albert, whose official position was that of commercial attaché to the embassy, was the financial representative and paymaster.

A German information bureau was established at 1123 Broadway under charge of M. B. Claussen, publicity agent of the Hamburg-American Line. Doctor Dernberg constituted himself a sort of unofficial ambassador to the American people and for several months, up to the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, traveled about the country delivering lectures and permitting himself to be interviewed by individuals and the press on the subject of the war. After June, 1915, he delivered a lecture in Cleveland justifying the sinking of the *Lusitania*, when there was such an outcry from the public that our government suggested to the representatives of the German government that he go home. After that Doctor Albert had full charge of the German propaganda in this country until the declaration of war, April, 1917.

German propaganda, in the usual sense of the term, followed four main lines, with the following objectives:

(1) To prevent the shipment of munitions to the Allies; (2) to spread pacifism; (3) to convert American public opinion to the German point of view; and (4) to promote dissension among various elements of the population.

For the double purpose of preventing munition shipments and of fostering the peace sentiment, German propaganda either organized through its agents or supported with its funds the American Embargo Conference, the Friends of Peace, the American Neutrality League, the American Inter-Independence Union, the American Truth Society, and Labor's National Peace Council. Labor's National Peace Council was organized under the direction of the notorious David Lamar, the "wolf of Wall Street," and is reported to have cost the German government not less than $500,000.[1] Before America entered the war, it was this exploitation of the peace sentiment that best served the purposes of the German government in this country.

There was a serious attempt made to educate the American people to an appreciation of the German point of view. For this purpose it was deemed necessary to own a paper published in English. Negotiations were set on foot to secure possession of the New York *Sun* and the Washington *Post*, and eventually the *Daily Mail*, New York, was purchased at a cost of $750,000. The *Daily Mail* cost the German government, in addition to the original purchase price of $750,000, something like $600,000 for maintenance during the brief period in which it served as its organ.

Several smaller publications were secured, among these the *Fatherland*, edited by George Sylvester Viereck, and *Fair Play*, published in Washington, D. C., by Marcus Braun.

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[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, Senate Document no. 66, pp. 1572–1573.

A film company was organized to distribute German war and "educational" films, but the public would not take the educational films and the war scenes did not seem to make friends for Germany.

It was recognized very early that "public opinion here [in America] cannot be influenced in any substantial way through the press," and that "through direct bribery there is nothing to be done." It was therefore urged that "one can work on reporters (the so-called ship reporters who interview the new arrivals) and with the smaller editors who edit the cable news and the headlines." [1]

As a matter of fact, a number of correspondents, particularly of the Hearst papers, which were traditionally anti-English, were in the pay of the German government. The most notable example was William Bayard Hale, who, as head and adviser of the German Information (Press) Bureau from December, 1914, to December, 1915, received a salary of $15,000, and was confidential agent of the German embassy in Washington at the time he went abroad to represent the Hearst syndicate.

This part of the German propaganda seems to have been a disappointment. In a cipher dispatch, dated October 29, 1916, and addressed to the German Foreign Office, Ambassador Bernstorff made a statement, seemingly based on bitter experience:

> The fact of an American newspaper being subsidized can never be kept secret, because there is no reticence in this country. It always ends in my being held responsible for all the articles of any such newspaper.[2]

The success of the whole German psychic attack upon the United States was wrecked, as Bernstorff

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, p. 1392.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1481.

admits in a message to the German Foreign Office, dated November 1, 1916, by the length of the war, and because in America "there is no reticence" and "everything becomes known."

At the beginning of the war many things were undertaken by the Dernberg propaganda which would never have been undertaken if we could have seen that the war would be so long, because nothing can, for long, be kept secret in America. Since the *Lusitania* case, we have strictly confined ourselves to such propaganda as cannot hurt us if it becomes known. The sole exception is perhaps the peace propaganda, which has cost the largest amount, but which has been also the most successful.[1]

On the whole, as the war progressed, the strategy of the enemy propagandists in America sought rather to promote dissension among the heterogeneous elements of the American population than to win sympathy for the German cause.

The public mind, to the trained propagandist, is a pool into which phrases and thoughts are dropped like acids, with a fore-knowledge of the reactions that will take place; just as Professor Loeb at the Rockefeller Institute can make a thousand crustaceans stop swimming aimlessly about in the bowl and rush with one headlong impulse to the side where the light comes from, merely by introducing into the water a little drop of chemical.

We do not know how successful German propaganda has been in this country. We shall never know. But it is notorious that the German government's agents have shrewdly exploited internal distractions and disaffections. They have fanned the Irish question. They probably helped to finance the Sinn Fein row, which, by the way, stopped very abruptly when criminal prosecutions started. They have sought to inflame the Negro in his grievance. They have

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, p. 1494.

helped revive the ancient feud between the A. P. A. and the Catholic Church. They have procured to be printed in American papers, editorials that could be quoted in Mexico to prove the Americans perfidious in their intentions toward that country. They have widely and very adroitly suggested Japan to the American imagination in an extremely sinister light. They have sown dark thoughts against our allies, especially Great Britain and Italy. They have assisted to spread the capitalistic idea of war among the radicals. They have most efficiently sustained a large body of pacifist opinion in the country, disguised latterly as opinion for a diplomatic peace.

This is not to say that the German propagandist ever positively originated anything. He is not so stupid. His business is to work with the elements, materials, and conditions, already existing, and shape and develop them scientifically. He did not invent the Negro problem. He has only exploited it. So with everything.[1]

There is no evidence to prove that a single Socialist paper was subsidized by the enemy—the Socialist and radical press were opposed to the war on principle—but the myth, so sedulously cultivated in the Socialist press, that this was a capitalist war, was enemy propaganda.

Even pacifists, who professed to abhor war in every form, did not escape participation in the conflict when they assumed the role of agitators. The sermons of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York City, collected and transported into Germany, furnished the General Staff with ammunition against the Allies. The British Fifth Army was bombarded with these sermons shortly before the first great German offensive of March 21, 1918, in which the Fifth Army gave way with disastrous results. Copies of these sermons are preserved among

[1] NewYork *Tribune*, Editorial, July 12, 1918.

records of the Military Intelligence Branch of the General Staff at Washington.

DISSENSIONS AMONG RACIAL GROUPS

In addition to this peace propaganda there was an effort to stir the racial animosities of immigrant peoples. This effort dealt particularly with the immigrant press. The attitude of the press was largely determined by national sympathies and historical traditions: Germans were for Germany, Jews were for Jews. Where these heritages were in conflict with the national American spirit, the will to win the war was weakened. Where, as in the case of the Serbians, Poles, and Bohemians, the immigrant and American heritages formed a natural alliance, the American national spirit was broadened and intensified. The German propagandists played with all these heritages and the interests represented by them. That was the game.

The Indian nationalist movement was promoted in America with German funds. A newspaper called *Gadho* (*Mutiny*) edited by Har Dyal, an Oxford graduate and lecturer at Leland Stanford University, was published in California. Eventually, an expeditionary force actually set sail for India in August, 1914.

Dr. Isaac Strauss was brought from Germany for the special purpose of influencing the Jewish press. A confidential letter to Doctor Albert, dated October 20, 1914, makes the statement that "the manipulation of the Jewish press in America, formerly casual, has now been changed into a regular systematic information service," and in confirmation of the necessity of this service an article from the Jewish *Warheit* is inclosed. An effort was made a little later to purchase the *Warheit*.

The Irish propaganda was carried on under the direc-

tion of James K. McGuire, who organized the Irish press and news service for the Germans. McGuire was the owner of the *Light*, Albany, New York, the *Truth*, Scranton, Pennsylvania, and the *Sun*, Syracuse, New York, and the *National Catholic*. Through a news service organized by him, McGuire was supplying news service two or three times a week to eighteen or twenty papers. All of this machinery was put at the service of the German propaganda.

Some effort was made, also, in the early stages of the war, to exploit the discontent of the Negroes in the United States, but without definite results.

There is very little evidence to show that the German-American papers were influenced to any extent by money. So far as they supported the German cause either before or after America declared war, they did so out of loyalty to the home country and in response to a long-cherished and continually nourished animosity to England.

The only German-American paper that is known to have received, directly or indirectly, financial aid from the German government, was the New York *Staats-Zeitung*. Herman Ridder, the owner and publisher of the *Staats-Zeitung*, died in 1915. At the time of his death the paper was burdened with a debt of $300,000. The paper had been, before America went to war, the unofficial organ of the German government, in its relation to the German-American in this country. According to the testimony of Bruce Bielaski, Captain Boy-ed, German naval attaché at Washington, was constantly in communication with the editors of the *Staats-Zeitung*, commenting on what was written, and making suggestions as to what should be written, even going so far as to tell the editor in one of his messages that the editorials should be made shorter and printed in larger type. The only funds the paper is known to have received from the German government was $15,000, to which Adolph Pavenstadt, a wealthy German who had lived in this country since 1876, added $5,000. "I ex-

pected," Pavenstadt is reported to have said, "that if the business were bankrupt, it would be lost to the Ridders, who have always followed a very good course for German interests here." [1]

The German immigrant press maintained, for the most part, an attitude of sullen silence in regard to the purposes of the war, after America entered the conflict. It found, however, in the news items and editorials of the native press materials to justify its prepossessions.

Efforts were made, particularly by Austria, to promote dissensions among the different racial groups in America, especially among the Poles and Jugoslavs. This was merely an application to America of the rule "divide and conquer," by which Austria had ruled its turbulent nationalities in Europe. The most promising enterprise planned or undertaken by German propagandists through the medium of the foreign-language press was the fomenting of strikes in the munition plants at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Bridgeport, Connecticut. In the dispatches of the Austrian Ambassador Dumba to Baron von Burian, which were taken from the American correspondent James F. J. Archibald, and which resulted in the Austrian ambassador's recall, there was a memorandum prepared by William Warne, who was at that time a writer for the foreign-language press. This document describes in some detail how he proposed to use the Hungarian papers to foment industrial disorders and, as he had already had experience in this sort of work, his testimony as to how the thing is actually done is interesting and valuable.

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda.* Report and Hearings of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, vol. ii, pp. 1569–1571.

I must divide the matter into two parts—the Bethlehem, and the Middle West business, but the point of departure is common to both—*viz.*, press agitation, which is of the greatest importance as regards our Hungarian-American workmen, and by means of the press we can reach both Bethlehem and the West. In my opinion, we must start a very strong agitation on this question in the *Freedom* (*Szabadsag*), a leading organ, with respect to the Bethlehem works and the conditions there. This can be done in two ways, and both must be utilized. In the first place, a regular daily section must be regularly conducted against these indescribably degrading conditions. The *Freedom* has already done something similar in the recent past, when the strike movement began at Bridgeport. It must naturally take the form of strong, deliberate, decided, and courageous action. Secondly, the writer of these lines would begin a labor novel in that newspaper much on the lines of Upton Sinclair's celebrated story, and this might be published in other local Hungarian, Slovak, and German newspapers also. Here we arrive at the point that naturally we shall also require other newspapers. The American-Magyar *Nepszava* (*Word of the People*) will undoubtedly be compelled willingly or unwillingly to follow the movement initiated by the *Freedom* (*Szabadsag*), for it will be pleasing to the entire Hungarian element in America, and an absolute patriotic act to which that open journal, the *Nepszava*, could not adopt a hostile attitude.

Of course, it is another question to what extent and with what energy and devotion that newspaper would adhere to this course of action without regard to other influences, just as it is questionable to what extent the other local patriotic papers would go. There is great reason why, in spite of their patriotism, the American-Hungarian papers have hitherto shrunk from initiating such action. The position is as follows: To start with, the *Szabadsag*, which to-day is one of the greatest, in every respect, of the papers printed in a foreign language in America, has already made gigantic sacrifices from a patriotic point of view. Others have only a faint idea of the magnitude of the homeward migration that will take place directly after the termination of the war, whereas the

Hungarian papers have direct and better opportunities of observing the shadow which that gigantic migration homeward always casts before it. It is the fact that the paper alone used by the *Szabadsag*, for example, in printing only those copies which go to subscribers who are in arrears with their subscriptions, costs at least $1,000 a month, while the actual cost of the paper does not amount to more than $3,500. In view of this fact that one-third of the total subscribers get the paper for nothing, or at all events on credit, you can see what a patriotic action this newspaper is performing. Naturally, under such circumstances you can hardly expect that such a paper should go much further in the way of violent agitation which would have the result of making their subscribers now in regular work unable to meet their subscriptions; as, for example, the Bethlehem workers. I have long been wishing to start a direct movement in that paper, but the above viewpoint made us hold our hand.

The position of affairs is much the same with the American-Hungarian *Nepszava* as you might conclude from the special appeal addressed by the editor at the beginning of the war to his readers. The local Hungarian papers also suffer from the fact that a part of their subscribers are in arrears with their subscriptions, as they are out of work, while others are slow in paying because they want to go back to Hungary. To what extent this intention of migrating homeward influences the whole matter is shown by the fact that at present very many only pay their subscriptions for a quarter of a year in advance, contrary to their previous custom, for they think that the war will be over before the end of the quarter. In a word, the shadow of the great homeward migration and, in many places, the bad condition of affairs, have brought the American-Hungarian papers to such a position that they must be careful in all matters which might cause them further loss by affecting the ability of their subscribers to pay their subscriptions in advance. Under these circumstances it is not only fair, but necessary, that, if we wish to reckon on the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing support of these papers, we contribute a certain degree of support so that they may not

suffer for their action, in the interest of successful action at Bethlehem and the Middle West.

. . . Besides the *Szabadsag*, the *Nepszava*, the new daily paper of Pittsburgh, must be set in motion, and those of Bridgeport, Youngstown District, etc., also two Slovak papers. Under these circumstances, the first necessity is money. To Bethlehem must be sent as many reliable Hungarian and German workmen as I can lay my hands on, who will join the factories and begin their work in secret among their fellow workmen. For this purpose I have my men Turners in Steelwork. We must send an organizer who, in the interests of the union, will begin the business in his own way. We must also send so-called soap-box orators who will know how to start a useful agitation. We shall want money for popular meetings and possibly for organizing picnics. In general, the same principles apply to the Middle West. I am thinking of Pittsburgh and Cleveland in the first instance, as to which I could give details only if I were to return and spend at least a few days there.

. . . Finally, I make bold to point out the fact that hitherto I have said nothing on the subject to anyone connected with the newspapers, and am in the fortunate position that, in the case of giving effect to this plan, I can make use of other names in the case of necessity, for I have already in other matters made payments through other individuals. In any event, in case of newspapers, the greatest circumspection is necessary, and no one but the proprietors must know that money is coming to the undertaking from any source.[1]

During the investigation of German propaganda in the United States, A. Bruce Bielaski, of the U. S. Attorney-General's office, introduced a memorandum based on photographic copies in the possession of the department, showing certain other payments by Austria to foreign-language papers. This memorandum is by no means complete, but it is interesting as showing

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda*, pp. 1466–1468. Memorandum by William Warne.

the amount and character of the subsidies paid to certain minor and relatively unimportant papers.

Bielaski Exhibit No. 135

Desteaptate Romane—Rumanian paper—New York City.

On September 16, 1915, E. Zwiedinek, of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, wrote the Consulate General in New York City, inclosing check for $400 to be paid this paper, and requested that a receipt be sent for the $200 which had been previously paid this paper.

Illustrovani List—New York City.

On January 10, 1916, E. Zwiedinek, of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, wrote the Consulate General, New York City, and instructed him to pay $100 per month in February and March, 1916, to this paper. Instructions were also given that $100 per month be paid this paper up to July, 1916, if the subsidy was needed.

Krajan—Slavish Weekly—319 East Seventy-first Street, New York City.

The Austro-Hungarian Embassy on September 3, 1915, sent the Consulate General at New York City $250, to be paid this paper.

Telegram Codzienny—Polish paper—New York City.

On November 5, 1915, the Vice Consul, New York City, wrote the Austro-Hungarian Embassy that the subsidy of $700 granted to the above paper had been paid in full.[1]

When the United States entered the war, the Post Office Department and the Committee on Public Information undertook, in the interest of the national cause, to deal with the press in general, and incidentally with the foreign-language press. The purpose of

[1] Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session, Senate Document no. 62, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda*, p. 1586.

the post office was mainly negative, to repress enemy propaganda. The purpose of the Committee on Public Information was mainly positive, to strengthen the national morale.

CONTROL THROUGH THE POST OFFICE

Previous to the war the United States had very little experience with the difficulties of government control of the press. Such control as it did exercise was always in the interest of individuals, never in the interest of the government. It was not anticipated that the government would ever need protection from anything that anyone could say or anything that a newspaper would publish. It was only slowly that the notion gained recognition that, under the conditions of modern life, propaganda which provoked dissensions was a mode of warfare. What made the situation still more difficult was the fact that in practice there was no clear distinction between enemy propaganda and the ordinary expression of the independent American citizen exercising, in his customary hearty manner, his traditional right freely to criticize a government which he did, nevertheless, support. It was necessary to meet this emergency, to provide new legislation, and inculcate in the people a new habit of restraint.

Actually, the post office, in its efforts to curb enemy propaganda operated under Section 3, Title I, of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917:

Excerpt from the Espionage bill, Act of June 15, 1917:

TITLE I

Espionage

SECTION 3. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements

with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both.

This law was made applicable to the Post Office Department by a clause which provided that:

TITLE XII

Use of Mails

SECTION 1. Every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter, or thing, of any kind, in violation of any of the provisions of this Act, is hereby declared to be nonmailable matter and shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall be so constructed as to authorize any person other than an employee of the Dead Letter Office, duly authorized thereto, or other person upon a search warrant authorized by law, to open any letter not addressed to himself.

Much has been said of the so-called censorship of the Post Office Department. Actually there was not, and never has been, a censorship of the press in the United States. No papers were actually suppressed by this Department during the war, though some of them were greatly discouraged. As a matter of fact, if reports of the Department of Justice are correct, there are at least twice as many radical papers in existence

to-day as there were before or during the World War.[1]

There are 222 radical newspapers published in foreign languages in this country at the present time, and 105 radical newspapers published in the English language. In addition, 144 radical newspapers published in foreign countries are received and distributed to subscribers here. This number does not include the hundreds of books, pamphlets, and other publications which also receive wide circulation, many of them published in foreign languages. The number of these radical publications, and the language in which they are printed, follows:

TABLE XX

NUMBER OF RADICAL PUBLICATIONS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Armenian	1	Jewish	20
Bohemian	9	Lettish	11
Bulgarian	3	Lithuanian	15
Croatian	4	Polish	7
Danish	4	Portuguese	1
Esthonian	1	Rumanian	16
Finnish	11	Slovenian	8
French	1	Spanish	8
German	21	Swedish	6
Greek	2	Ukrainian	8
Hungarian	23	Yiddish	15
Italian	27		
Total			222
Papers published in foreign countries			144
English papers in the United States			105
Total			249
Grand Total			471

[1] Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice; a letter from the Attorney-General transmitting a report against persons advising anarchy, sedition, and the overthrow of the government, November 17, 1919.

There were in 1918, as near as can be ascertained, no more than 65 radical foreign-language papers as against 222 reported by the Department of Justice in 1920. Actually, the discrepancy is probably not as great as the figures indicate. It seems likely that a good many of the 222 papers recorded as "radical" represent the same papers under different names, or they represent papers that died young. It is also probably true that the figures for 1918 are not so complete as those for 1920. It is evident, at any rate, that the radical immigrant papers have not been suppressed. What the Post Office Department actually did was to apply to the press publishing enemy propaganda the same method of procedure which it formerly used against newspapers publishing fraudulent advertisements. It forbade those papers the use of the second-class mailing privilege.

The law giving the Post Office Department authority to deny privilege of the mails to certain newspapers has grown up in connection with the efforts of the government to suppress lotteries and to protect the public against fraud. The Act of September 19, 1890, prohibited the circulation through the mails of newspapers containing advertisements of a lottery or gift enterprise of any sort. Under the ruling of the department the press is not permitted to print the result of the drawing of lotteries even as news items, and this ruling has been seldom contested in the courts, because a news item, giving the result of a drawing, is a better advertisement of the lottery than an advertisement that is recognized as such.[1]

This law has been attacked on the ground that it was an infringement of the freedom of the press. It was argued in the Supreme Court in May, 1878, in the case of Orlando Jackson, "that Congress has no power to prohibit the transmission of intelligence, public or private, through the mails; *and any statute which distinguishes mailable from unmailable matter merely by the nature of the intelligence offered for trans-*

[1] See John L. Thomas, *Lotteries, Frauds and Obscenity in the Mails*, Columbia, Missouri, 1900, p. 224.

mission, is an unconstitutional enactment." In reply, the Court said that "in excluding various articles from the mails the object of Congress was not to interfere with the freedom of the press, but to refuse its facilities for the distribution of matter deemed injurious to public morals."[1]

This ruling was confirmed by a later and decisive case, in which it was contended that the laws under which the department operates were an abridgment of the freedom of the press and established in the Post Office Department a newspaper censorship since "the law which excludes a newspaper because it contains a lottery advertisement undoubtedly censors the matter contained in the journal and it punishes its editor on account of the matter so published, if the deprivation of a common right be a punishment."

The court held, however, the deprivation of the privilege of the mails was not a prohibition of the circulation of newspapers nor an abridgment of the freedom of communication within the intent and meaning of the constitutional provision. The fact was simply that the "government declines to become an agent in the circulation of printed matter which it regards as injurious to the people."

The so-called press censorship exercised by the Post Office during the World War was in form, at least, of precisely the same nature as that which it had previously exercised since 1890. The Espionage Act merely extended the supervision of the department to those matters which were declared unlawful under that Act. The Post Office refused its services to persons engaged in enemy propaganda. If this makes the Postmaster-General a public censor, it is not because, under certain circumstances, it denies to certain papers the

[1] See John L. Thomas, *Lotteries, Frauds and Obscenity in the Mails*, Columbia, Missouri, 1900, p. 243.

service of the mails, but because the law leaves to the discretion of an administration officer, the Postmaster-General, the question what should and what should not be regarded as enemy propaganda.

POST-OFFICE PROCEDURE

To understand what this censorship amounted to in practice, however, it is necessary to understand the manner in which it actually operated. In order to control the foreign-language press it was necessary to have the foreign-language papers read. For this purpose copies of all such papers in the United States were collected and kept on file at Washington. A similar file, covering particularly the papers published in New York City, was kept at the Post Office in New York City. A force of forty translators, readers and assistants, was maintained in Washington and New York to read these papers and report on them. In addition to this the Post Office authorities had access to the reports of the Department of Justice and to the records of the foreign-language division of the Committee of Public Information. Finally, a service of voluntary readers, many of them in the colleges and the universities of the country, was established. The volunteers were, generally, persons who had special knowledge of the languages and of the local conditions in the communities in which certain papers were published.

As soon as it became known that the Post Office was investigating the foreign-language press, complaints began to come to the office at Washington from all parts of the country. Many of these complaints were the protests of readers against what they regarded as disloyal utterances in the press. Many more were from the publishers whose papers had been held up by the local Post Office authorities because they had failed to

comply with Section 19 of the Trading with the Enemy Act, which required any paper published in a foreign language to file a translation of all its news items and editorials in which reference was made to the United States government or the conduct of the war.

When complaint was made against a paper or notice received that a certain issue of a paper had been held up as unmailable, an investigation was undertaken. Sometimes these investigations covered all the files of the paper over a period of several months. This was in order to discover, if possible, what the consistent policy of the paper had been. Upon the evidence thus obtained, a license to print might be granted, or if the publication was regarded as "unmailable" under the Espionage Act, it was denied the use of the second-class mailing privilege. As a last resort a newspaper might be denied the use of the mails altogether. In that case no mail would be delivered to the address of the offending publication.

It is fair to say that it was rarely necessary to resort to extreme measures. In any case the publisher, as in the case of the issuance of a fraud order, was never denied the opportunity to be heard either by mail, in person, by agent, attorney, or best friend. In many cases publishers were given several hearings. "There is probably no tribunal on earth," says John L. Thomas, himself a former Assistant Attorney-General for the Post Office, "where the facts in cases affecting the private rights of the citizen are more thoroughly investigated and ventilated than in the Post Office Department."[1]

As a matter of law, the Post Office Department acted in the matter of the second-class mailing privilege in a purely administrative capacity, denying the mails to

[1] John L. Thomas, *Lotteries, Fraud, and Obscenity in the Mails*, p. 347.

this paper and granting it to that. As a matter of fact, the office of the Solicitor for the Post Office Department, William H. Lamar, became during the period of the war a special court for the purpose of dealing with the press. The files of the Department at Washington contain the records of hundreds of hearings in which immigrant newspapers were given an opportunity to answer the complaints against them. These records show that the most searching examination was made of the character and contents of the papers complained of. They show that the number of foreign papers actually denied the services of the Post Office Department were very small, probably not more than ten. A number of newspaper offices were, to be sure, raided at different times by the Department of Justice, but no papers were suppressed by the Post Office Department.

On the other hand, from October 5, 1917, to January 14, 1919, 650 permits were issued to foreign-language papers in the United States, allowing them to publish without filing translations with the Post Office Department. Among these were seventy-four German publications. With the exception of the Jewish *Forward*, the Bohemian Socialist papers, the *Spravedlnost*, the *Zajny Lidu*, *Hlas Lidu*, and the *Obrana*—all Socialist and radical papers were compelled to file translations. This did not mean that, except in special instances, they were denied the use of the mails; but they were on probation and single issues were likely to be held up at any time.

If the department was convinced, from the whole course of a paper during the war, that it did not intend to obey the law and was actively aiding the enemy, that paper was permanently denied the use of the mails. Under these circumstances the publishers might send out their papers by express, or even by freight. This

was, in fact, what the I. W. W. did very early in the war. Under these circumstances, however, editors and publishers were pretty sure, sooner or later, to come under the surveillance of the Department of Justice. They might then be prosecuted under the provisions of the Espionage Act for lending aid to the enemy in time of war.

SUCCESSFUL CONTROL

Of all the liberties guaranteed by a free government, freedom of speech and of conscience are undoubtedly those most cherished by the people of the United States. For this reason there will be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of any attempt, even in war time, to impose a censorship upon the American press or the American people. Even where some sort of censorship is necessary, the persons who exercise it will not be popular. The effectiveness of the control exercised over the foreign-language press by the Postmaster-General during the period of the war is, however, beyond question. This is attested by the very fact that, at a time when there was a general demand throughout the country for the total suppression of the German press and of all the foreign-language papers, so very few of these papers were actually denied the use of the mails.

On the other hand there is reason to believe that the raids of the Department of Justice, the sensational arrests, and the deportations of radicals since the armistice, have been a great stimulus to the publication of new radical papers.

From the date of the signing of the armistice, a wave of radicalism appears to have swept over the country, which is best evidenced by the fact that since that date approximately fifty radical newspapers have commenced publication. A

large number of these papers openly advocate the destruction of the United States government and encourage and advise their readers to prepare for the coming revolution. It is also a noticeable fact that a great many of these publications are practically devoid of advertising matter, which indicates that they are receiving money from outside sources to further their propaganda.[1]

Public prosecutions do not suppress radical papers, but they do make martyrs. A martyr is a person who suffers for a cause and gets his sufferings advertised. Most radicals welcome martyrdom. For many of them it is their one hope of an immortality that every human soul desires. Besides, it helps the cause. Rightly or wrongly, for the mass of mankind, the fact that anyone is willing to suffer for a cause is *prima facie* evidence that the cause is right.

The Post Office Department did not suppress any foreign-language papers during the war, but it did control them. Its success was due, in part, to the fact that it made no martyrs, in part to the fact that, since its final decisions were rendered only after a thorough investigation and a hearing, in which both sides were represented, it made relatively few mistakes.

In the course of its investigations, hearings, and readings of the press, the government, through its officials in the Post Office Department, gained some insight into the motives, the interests, and communal purposes of the immigrant peoples. At the same time the immigrant peoples themselves, through the medium of their editors and publishers, gained a more adequate understanding of the aims and purposes of the United States in the World War. This mutual understanding made it easier to control the foreign-language press

[1] Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice. Letter from the Attorney-General, November 17, 1919.

without attempting to suppress it, and was perhaps the most important result of the so-called censorship.

The thing, however, that did most to make the censorship of the foreign press effective was the outburst, upon the actual declaration of war, of national patriotic sentiment. The determination of the American people, as expressed in Congress and in the courts, to defend the common interest, even against the insidious attacks of its own citizens, revealed to the masses of the foreign population the existence in this country of a national spirit of which they had not known before.

Peoples who had struggled to secure a national existence at home were able to understand, at any rate, the patriotism of loyal Americans. It was only when this sentiment, after the armistice, tended to degenerate into a crude and unintelligent nationalistic chauvinism, that the immigrant peoples felt themselves rebuffed and shut out from participation in the national life.

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

It was fortunate that no serious attempt was made in America, as it was in Australia and some other countries, to suppress the foreign-language papers during the progress of the war. Had that happened, America would have been deprived of an effective and necessary means of gaining that understanding and solidarity between the immigrant and native population which was necessary to win the war. It was the task of the Division of Work Among the Foreign Born, of the Committee on Public Information, under the direction of Miss Josephine Roche, to mobilize the foreign-language societies and the foreign-language press in the service of the United States.

We worked from the *inside*, not from the outside, aiding each group to develop its own loyalty league, and utilizing

the natural and existing leaders, institutions, and machinery. We offered co-operation and supervision, and we gave counsel, not commands. As a consequence, each group had its own task, its own responsibility, and as soon as these facts were clearly understood the response was immediate.[1]

Under this division, as finally organized, the government established direct relations with fourteen foreign-American racial groups—Italian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Russian, Jugoslav, Czechoslovak, Polish, German, Ukrainian, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Dutch. For each language group there was a separate bureau, with a director in charge, assisted by translators and office helpers. For these fourteen language groups there are approximately 865 newspapers. Of this number 745 received a regular press service.

What the foreign-language papers wanted most was news, particularly in regard to the activities of the government. Four days before the draft regulations went into effect, full instructions were given to the foreign-language population through the columns of the foreign-language press. Of this service Provost-Marshal General Crowder wrote in a letter to George Creel:

> The task of reaching the foreign born, who are unfamiliar with our language, seemed to me to be one of the most difficult and perhaps beyond power of achievement.
>
> The daily arrivals of newspapers in foreign languages show how widespread are the ramifications of influence of your office, and have revealed to me what a powerful and effective agency the government possesses. Your tact, energy, and ingenuity in utilizing this agency to its fullest command my admiration, and I offer my personal thanks.

The committee performed an equally important service for the Internal Revenue Department in the

[1] George Creel, *How We Advertised America*, p. 184.

interpretation of the provisions of the revenue bill affecting aliens. In this case the Foreign Language Division became an information bureau for the bewildered aliens. Not less than 3,000 letters were received and answered in the effort to make clear to the foreign born their rights and duties in the matter of the taxes on "nonresident" aliens.

The remarkable success of the Liberty Loan among the immigrant peoples was largely due to the advertising given it in the foreign-language press. Similar information in regard to the work of other departments of the government, prepared and sent out by the committee, was eagerly accepted and published. Even extreme radical papers like the Russian *Novy Mir*, which would publish nothing which had the flavor of war propaganda, gladly printed information which would enable their readers to grasp the opportunities for popular education offered by public libraries and other educational institutions.[1]

The purpose of the Committee on Public Information was to make America intelligible to the immigrant. Its second purpose was to make America understand the immigrant. It did this by sending out to the native-language press news concerning the work that was being done by the foreign-language press and foreign-language associations to aid America in the war. Over fifty such "news stories" were released to 3,360 American papers. The titles suggest the information furnished—"The Jugoslav Club," "Ukrainian in America Eager for Education," "Lithuanians Support Fourth Liberty Loan." The education of the American in regard to the foreign born was recognized as quite as important to a mutual understanding as the education of the foreign born in regard to America.

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[1] George Creel, *How We Advertised America.*

There is necessary a mutual process of education of native and foreign born. Full information on American life, opportunities, customs, and laws, must reach the men and women coming here from foreign lands immediately upon their arrival. Necessarily, it must be in their own language. The more they learn in this way of our fundamental democracy, and the possibilities for them and their children in this country, the keener become their desire and efforts to learn "America's language." To withhold this information or delay it until, according to theoretic calculation, these immigrants have had time to acquire English, is deliberately to create a period of cruel bewilderment and false impressions for them which dampens whatever enthusiasm they had originally to study English. The numerous un-American conditions and injustices to which so many immigrants have fallen victims must be wiped out. Explanations and instruction about America, given to the fullest extent, carry little weight when individuals have been unjustly wronged.

The ignorance of many native-born Americans about European peoples, and their contemptuous attitude toward persons with different customs from their own, are just as serious obstacles to assimilation and unity as the tendency of some immigrants to cling to Old World ways; understanding must come, on our part, of the heritages of these newcomers, their suffering and struggles in Europe, and the contributions they bring us if we will only receive them.[1]

America's wars have always served to bring the different peoples that compose our population to a common understanding. The Committee on Public Information gave that part of the foreign population that did not go to war an opportunity, through the medium of its own associations and its own press, to participate in the common purposes of the country more adequately and wholeheartedly than it had ever done before.

[1] George Creel, *How We Advertised America*, p. 198.

XVIII

CONTROL THROUGH ALLIANCE

The desire of native Americans to control the foreign-language press has a logical basis, aside from our instinctive distrust of anything foreign and unintelligible. Some immigrant heritages are so different from our own that their expression in the press is likely to instigate action that is inimical to our national purposes, or that interferes with our social machinery. To prevent such discord is a legitimate undertaking.

Americans may even go one step farther. By encouraging the foreign-language press to emphasize the immigrant heritages congenial to ours, by showing it the friendly side of America, it is possible to hasten its development into an instrument of Americanization.

INADEQUATE METHODS

No one has seriously proposed to suppress the foreign-language papers. The experience of Germany and Russia, where that has been attempted, is against it. Various plans have been suggested for controlling this press. Most of them have failed to take into consideration the sage comment of the London policeman, who judged it better all around for the soap-box orators to "blow hoff" than to "blow hup."

These proposals include plans for taxing or penalizing immigrant publications. It was suggested by Rear-Admiral Cooper F. Goodrich, for example,

> that every periodical published in the United States or in adjacent countries, and printed wholly or in considerable

part in a foreign tongue, should pay a license fee to the Treasury of 1 cent for each copy of a daily; 5 cents for each copy of a semiweekly, triweekly, or weekly; 10 cents for each copy of a monthly, bimonthly, or quarterly, etc.[1]

This suggestion was made on the theory that the foreign-language press is "a luxury" for those "who, remaining in our midst, are unwilling to take the trouble to learn English." Furthermore, "those who really want such literature can well afford to pay the price."

Another proposal is that every newspaper published in a foreign language be compelled to print in its columns "an interlineal translation of what it has to say, in plain English." [2]

The most serious objection to these, as to other forms of coercive Americanization, is that they do not work.

USE THE IMMIGRANT PRESS

One way to Americanize the immigrant is to invite his co-operation and use his own institutions in the process. The immigrant press was useful to the United States in winning the World War. It should be quite as valuable, it would seem, in time of peace.

The immigrant himself is disposed to use his language and his press to help him find his way in the New World. The foreign-language press, if it preserves old memories, is at the same time the gateway to new experiences.

For this reason foreign-language papers are frequently agencies of Americanization in spite of themselves.[3] They are always Americanizing influences when they print the news, or even, as Miss Frances Kellor contends, when they advertise American goods.

[1] New York *Times Magazine*, June 24, 1917, p. 14.

[2] Cleveland *Topics*, Editorial, February 8, 1919.

[3] See Part I, chap. iii.

One million dollars of American money spent in selling American goods to the foreign born in America will do more good than all the investigations and detecting ever set on foot, *simply because the publishers will feel that America cares and is their friend, and wants them to make good, and they will return it. Try and see.*[1]

National advertising is the great Americanizer. It tells the story of American business, pluck, enterprise, and achievement in discovering and mining the treasures of the earth, in manufacturing, in trade, in literature, in science and invention, and in art.

American ideals and institutions, law, order, and prosperity, have not yet been sold to all of our immigrants.

American products and standards of living have not yet been bought by the foreign born in America. How can they buy them when they know nothing about them?

If Americans want to combine business and patriotism they should advertise products, industry, and American institutions in the American foreign-language press.[2]

There are some indications that Americans are attempting co-operation with the foreign-language press. Two independent agencies have sought since the armistice to perpetuate in modified form the relations established during the war between the government and the immigrant press. These organizations are: (1) The Inter-Racial Council, of which T. Coleman Du Pont is chairman, and (2) the Foreign Language Bureau in the Department of Civilian Relief of the American Red Cross, of which Josephine Roche is director.

Actually, the Inter-Racial Council succeeds the U. S. Chamber of Commerce Americanization Committee. Its membership has been further recruited since the

[1] Frances A. Kellor, "The Place and Purpose of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, pp. 5–7.

[2] Circular of the Foreign-Language Press in America, "The Foreign-Language Press in America; an American Institution, an American Advertising Medium, an Americanization Agency," 1919.

war among the representatives of big industries who are large employers of immigrant labor.

The Red Cross Foreign Language Bureau is the successor to the Foreign Language Division of the Committee on Public Information. After the sudden dissolution of the Creel Committee the Foreign Language Division continued for a time under the title of the Foreign Language Governmental Information Service.

AN ATTEMPT AT BENEVOLENT CONTROL

The Inter-Racial Council, as Mr. Du Pont conceived it in July, 1919, is a continuation of the government work of Americanization which was carried on during the war under the direction of Secretary of the Interior Lane, and Commissioner of Education Claxton. But it is something different and more definite than anything attempted in the government's program of Americanization. It has become an organization of mediation between the native employer, the immigrant laborer, and the labor organizations. Its purpose is to interpret each of these parties to the other.

It proposes to tell employers "about conditions in their own plants, suggesting remedies," and to tell the immigrant laborers, on the other hand, what the business man "means by profit sharing and insurance and a lot of other things he is doing in his plant that the immigrants don't know about." Not only is the immigrant eager and anxious to know about all these things, but, as Mr. Du Pont remarks, "There's a lot of good industrial light hidden under a bushel that would tend to dispel this Bolshevism cloud and answer specifically and practically the attacks on capital, if the people knew about it."

In order, however, to reach the immigrant, it is necessary to have not merely an organization, but an organ.

It is all right to get things started at the bottom—*i.e.*, it is all right to improve existing conditions in the shop—but suppose the immigrants get a constant supply of rot from the top through their press and their publications and at the meetings of their societies. No matter what the government does, they are told it is always wrong; no matter how a thing looks, they are assured there is always an ulterior motive; no matter what business does, it is always against the workingman. Every sincere effort is ridiculed and disturbed. Get enough of this going into a man's system and he ceases to think straight or to live decently. The business men of America are not afraid of the truth being told, neither are the labor men, but they want it to be the truth. So we said, is the press which reaches these people telling both sides of the story? Is America getting a square deal, or are the home countries and customs and traditions and institutions holding the fort? Is the American government getting a show or is it being knocked eternally? [1]

It is at this point that the Inter-Racial Council connects with the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers. Mr. Hammerling's advertising bureau has been purchased by some of the business men in the Inter-Racial Council and is now the organ of the council. Through this agency it is possible to reach all the foreign-language newspapers at once.

The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers remains what it has always been, a private corporation. It plans to carry on Hammerling's business in a legitimate manner. Frances A. Kellor is president of the existing organization.

The first task of the new organization has been to put the association on a sound business basis; to get the facts in regard to circulation; to standardize commissions and obtain uniform agreements; to make

[1] "The Inter-Racial Council: What It Is and Hopes to Do," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, pp. 1–2.

what had been a personal organ of Mr. Hammerling's an institution of public utility.

Hammerling showed how far the foreign-language press could be controlled for purposes that were alien and un-American. The Inter-Racial Council proposes to control it in the interest of America, and particularly in the interest of "better understanding between capital and labor."[1]

The kind of advertising that the Inter-Racial Council wants to put over is explained by Miss Kellor as follows:

> There is a second kind of advertising this association wants —good-will or policy advertising. . . . The association is not boosting anything or anybody, but it does believe that it is up to industrial leaders to tell the truth about what they are doing through advertising. It is the answer to Bolshevism; and if it is not, we ought to inaugurate such policies, for there is no other answer.
>
> There is a third kind of advertising, called "propaganda," which is teaching English and telling about American institutions, which the association believes should be carried as advertising for America, and the Inter-Racial Council is handling a fund for this purpose. It has already put over a "Stay in America," and Flag-Day Message, and Fourth-of-July Message, and is also interpreting the foreign-language groups to Americans.[2]

The following advertisement in the Jewish *Forward*, June 2, 1919, is an example of the "American" advertising which the council is placing in the foreign-language press:

> ARE YOU GOING BACK TO YOUR OLD HOME?
>
> Here, in America, one has no right idea of the bad condition of business and trade which now reigns in Europe. One

[1] T. Coleman Du Pont, "The Inter-Racial Council: What It Is and Hopes to Do," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, pp. 1–2.

[2] *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, pp. 7, 57.

who is acquainted with national conditions says that the English government will be obliged to send out of its country five or six million Englishmen in order that it may be easier to feed its remaining population. Holland is giving charity food. The great Italian army has not as yet been demobilized for fear there will be no work for its soldiers. In Belgium 800,000 persons are dependent upon the help of the government. In France the situation is as bad as everywhere else. Poland is in ruins. Rumanian farmers have no cattle and no seeds to till the soil.

America Has Received You When You Came Here She Wants You Now to Remain Here

America has room for your ideals and welcomes your ideas; and your race has a future in the building of America. Enterprises, hopes, and rewards, are in the New World.

Do you remember the long days and nights of doubt and fear on the deck of the steamer? How painfully you were longing for the home you left behind?

The beautiful day when your ship arrived—and the first thing which greeted you was the statue which stands on watch at the entrance to the New World—the Statue of Liberty.

You could feel its welcome as it stood there with its big torch—the torch which assures you of a good welcome, a promise, and a guide to all those who come to her shores.

You landed. You got a job.

Soon you became happy and contented. You saw that "Liberty" lived up to its promise.

You had an equal opportunity with other people. Education was free, and you sent your children to school. And you went to night school yourself to study English and to learn a trade.

You began to think of buying a home and of remaining in America.

Then war came!

And the first thing you knew was that America called you

to help win the war in order that the same freedom which adorns America may adorn the rest of the world.

You were a man through and through. And you answered like a man.

You helped to build ships.

You made ammunitions of war.

You bought Liberty Bonds.

You supported your new land without limit.

And now your new land wants you for an American, in every sense of the word—she wants to share with you the victory which she has won. America victorious will now, together with the Allies, enter a period of prosperity such as she never had before.

The revival in building, which was at a standstill during the war, has begun—new homes, new apartment houses, new business buildings, which mean jobs—jobs—jobs; more homes and cheaper rents and more factories in which to work.

The lack of food in the Old World is terrible.

America must feed the world. This means work on beautiful, fruitful farms, for those who long for the country.

Your native country needs that you remain in America to make safe the markets, to help build the world with American surplus materials and money which the world needs.

The employers everywhere recognize that the workingman has come to his consciousness—recognizing the rights and honor of labor.

This means better working conditions, better living conditions, and better wages.

It took courage—"pluck," as it is called by Americans—for you to leave your home and to begin to live in a new country.

Now that you are already here and that you have begun—begun successfully—why not remain?

America wants to have citizens with courage.

Say to-day to yourself: "I am in a good land, a land which fought, not for selfish purposes, but to make the whole world a better place to live in. I want to remain in America and will think like an American. I will dress myself like an American. I will talk American, and will remain an American!"

Don't throw away your job to go to Europe, not knowing more about the conditions and whether they want you.

Be sure that you are right before you start. Don't begin unconsciously.

First get all the facts.

Before you decide to go, consult your employer or your paper. We will gladly help both to answer your questions.[1]

It is not the purpose of the Inter-Racial Council to control the editorial policies of the foreign-language press. It expects to pay advertising rates for all the space it uses. It will not ask editors to support its policies in their editorial columns.

It has been said that these new owners (the members of the Inter-Racial Council who bought the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers) seek to control the editorial policy of this press. If by that is meant transferring the ownership from foreign countries to America, they plead guilty. If by that is meant that any class is to dominate it in its own interests, the answer has been made. The first thing the new owners did was to call a conference of the representatives of five hundred of these publications and put the editorial and news questions in their papers squarely up to them, and they formed a Publishers' Association of American Newspapers Published in Foreign Languages, which handles these matters entirely, and separately, while the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is a straight business organization concerned only with advertising.[2]

Still, foreign-language papers are bound to be more patriotic and more considerate of American business interests if they are fed than if they are starved, and this, in fact, is the basis upon which manufacturers

[1] Jewish Daily *Forward*, June 2, 1919.

[2] Frances A. Kellor, "The Plan and Purpose of the American Association of Foreign-Language Newspapers," in *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, p. 6.

and business men are being invited to contribute to the advertising and promotion funds of the council. Hitherto, the foreign-language press has been supported by national advertising, "much foreign to America." Furthermore:

> There was not much American money behind it or under it, and there were very few native Americans associated with it or interested in it or that knew anything about it. Many little papers were living from hand to mouth, begging for subscriptions or loans during the year to pay their bills, or resorting to other measures. We think America and not Europe should control a press published in America. We are interested in having it set free to work for America voluntarily and cheerfully.[1]

Although the council has no intention of "unduly influencing" the foreign-language papers, in the sense of Mr. Hammerling's manipulation it expects to require of its clients the advertising standards of the native press, and it will be seen that this imposes definite conditions on the editors.

The advisory committee on advertising, at a meeting in New York, January 16, 1919, made recommendations on the following propositions:

1. Standards for rates.
2. Standards for circulation. (Like membership in audits committee.)
3. Supplemental work. (Like services to their readers.)
4. Loan committee in American association to handle financing difficulties of small papers (like machinery, improvements, etc.), to avoid making them come under obligations to forces that seek to control them.

The committee postponed consideration of 3 and 4, but made the following tentative recommendations on 1 and 2:

[1] *Advertising and Selling*, July 5, 1919, p. 2.

1. The committee assumes that the association recently purchased by some of the members of the Inter-Racial Council, under the name of American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, is not to be an advertising agency which represents the advertiser, but a special newspaper representatives' association representing the foreign-language newspapers in the procuring and placing of advertising.

2. That this association, in the procuring and placing of advertising, will be a connecting link between the advertiser, the advertising agency, and the foreign-language press, acting as an adviser in the foreign-language newspaper field, and guaranteeing certain standards in the editorial, news, and advertising columns; in the matter of rates and terms; and in the reliability of circulation figures; which standards are absolutely necessary to the sound conduct of the advertising business.

3. That a bureau be established in this association, called for the purpose of clearly defining its scope, the *Foreign Language Advertising Bureau*, or that the association itself change its name to the above if it is to confine its work solely to advertising outlined in the preceding recommendation.

4. That, for the protection of the advertiser, the association adopt and insist upon its use, and so guarantee to the advertiser the standard rate card adopted by the American Association of Advertising Agents, copies of which are hereto attached.

5. That so-called objectionable advertising, which tends to mislead the public or offend good taste, be eliminated as rapidly as possible from the foreign press wherever it is still accepted.

NEWS AND INFORMATION SERVICE

The Foreign Language Information Service, now[1] a department of the American Red Cross, deals with the foreign-language press from a different angle. The Inter-Racial Council is a propagandist organization. It is seeking to control radicalism and Bolshevism. It

[1] January, 1921.

wants to improve laboring conditions, but it wants to preserve the existing order. It seeks to educate both the foreign-born employee and the native employer.

The Information Service, on the other hand, is a bureau of information. It confines itself to sending out to the foreign-language papers information in regard to the activities of the different departments of the government. It is not directly concerned with radicalism or the class war. It is a news service. It measures its success by the number of items which it succeeds in getting printed.

Five hundred and seventy-six articles on governmental information were sent out by the Foreign Language Bureaus of the F. L. G. I. S. during October, an increase of 76 articles over the September total. According to government sources supplying information for these articles, the Department of Agriculture and Labor furnished 117, while those from the Treasury Department were distributed among the divisions as follows:

Savings Division	51
U. S. Public Health Service	30
Internal Revenue	24
War Risk Insurance	10
Federal Farm Loan Board	2

The Department of the Interior furnished 51; Labor, 40; Council of National Defense, 87; State Department, 11; Department of Commerce, 23; Railroad Administration, 22; American Red Cross, 15; American Relief Administration, 25. The remainder came from the Departments of Justice, War, Post Office; Federal Reserve Board, Shipping Board, Civil Service Commission, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Library of Congress, and War Camp Community Service.

The foreign-language press shows a 23-per-cent increase in the use of Foreign Language Governmental Information Service material, in October, over previous months.[1]

[1] Foreign Language Governmental Information Service, in *Bureau Bulletin No. 6*, October, 1919.

In addition to its news to the foreign-language press, the bureau is a source of information to individuals and agencies engaged in Americanization work.

Lists of foreign-language organizations, names of foreign-language leaders, translations of folk-songs, lists of national holidays and fête days, information on the foreign-language press, lists of foreign speakers, summaries of notable historical events, and dates in history of various nationalities, were among the various topics on which the F. L. G. I. S. supplied extensive information.

Assistance in interpreting and dispensing information was given the International Congress of Working Women held in Washington, D. C.

At the request of the Savings Division of the Treasury several of the bureaus furnished this division with articles on postal and other savings systems in Europe.

The F. L. G. I. S.'s daily contacts with the foreign-speaking groups constantly reveal the need for further knowledge by the native born of the problems and conditions affecting the immigrant population. Misrepresentation of the foreigner, the unfair and wholesale criticism and condemnation of the foreign-speaking groups, are proving a serious obstacle to the assimilation so greatly desired and so widely discussed.[1]

Since the armistice the bureau has become a source of information to individuals in regard to their relations to the government. From June to December, 1919, the increase of press and personal service work of the bureau was 201 per cent.

Over 4,200 individuals were given information or help on matters of government concern in October, chief among these being the income tax, war-risk allotments, health, citizenship, passport regulations, land regulations, and agricultural openings and employment.[2]

[1] Foreign Language Governmental Information Service, in *Bureau Bulletin No. 6*, October, 1919.

[2] *Ibid.*

The value of the Red Cross Foreign Language Information Service, or of any other Americanizing agency, must be measured in the long run by the extent to which it meets the needs and enlists the support of the immigrant himself. No "control" of the foreign-language press, which succeeds only in getting patriotic propaganda into the papers, but gets no wide or spontaneous response from the readers of those papers, is likely to be of permanent value, either to the foreign born or to the native American.

The following letter from the wife of a Slovak miner in Ohio, to the Red Cross Foreign Language Information Service, is illuminating, not merely for the light it throws upon an interesting situation, but because it indicates a need and desire for a medium through which immigrants can communicate directly and adequately with America, its government, and its people.

CAMBRIDGE, OHIO.

DEAR SIR,—I want to tell you about some things that the newspapers are discussing, but of which they are very incorrectly informed.

One day I read in a certain Czech-American paper that the high price of coal was caused by a lack of laborers, especially in the state of Ohio. I could not help throwing the paper down. And I said to my husband: "How can they write such things when here great crowds of people, young and old, go from one mine to another and get work nowhere? Whoever is an American can somehow manage, but the poor immigrant, the 'Hunkie,' nobody cares about him, or how he makes a living."

For example, there are in this neighborhood mines in which my husband worked, and where in five months about nineteen shifts have been employed. How then can such families live when their provider brings such a small wage in fourteen days? In truth, the wife of such a miner does not know to which bank to carry her money; to be sure, nobody will take it from her.

Finally, the mine stopped work altogether, and the union announced that the miners would be distributed throughout the surrounding mines. Of course everyone wanted to get into the nearest mine; they could not come to a decision, so they drew lots as to where each one was to go. It so happened that my husband, also several other Czechs, had to go to a very distant mine. I advised him to "batch" it there, but he said: "Do you think that I am a gypsy? I would rather go hang myself on this tree." There was no other way out of it. They had to ride every day by train, and each had to pay out a half a dollar, regardless of how it was to be raised. It happened that they arrived there, and then they were told "there is no work to-day," and they were obliged to turn around and ride back home. They had spent the half dollar for car fare and had earned nothing. That often happened twice in succession, and now I read here in the paper "due to lack of laborers," etc. Is it not enough to cause wrath?

A mature or older person comes here, say a Czech or a German or a Frenchman. He arrives in the country district, and what is there for him to do? He must buy himself a little lamp and bucket and go to the mines. He is there the whole day long, either alone or with one companion, and the other man usually does not understand English. So all day long he does not hear a single English word. Of course, it is different in the city. The "first papers" a man can easily get, but it is hard to get the "second papers." Finally he thinks, "Well, I will try again, I might make application for the 'second papers.'" So he arranges for two witnesses, gathers all his knowledge of English, and goes. And let me tell you, that before he goes he hardly sleeps for several nights for the very fear that he would not be successful. Then he appears before the commission, answers several questions; all of a sudden he makes a mistake, and everything is upset. Then he leaves the place like a schoolboy who has been whipped, and he has lost his desire to make a second attempt for citizenship papers. That is one of the chief reasons why so few immigrants apply for citizenship papers.

I agree with Mrs. Simurda that they have been investigating the high cost of living for a long while, and yet have learned

nothing definitely. I think those gentlemen who are doing the investigating are not in any great need themselves, nor do they need to hear their wife saying constantly, "Come here, lad, again you have your boots all torn; yes, Jesus and Mary, he has his trousers all worn out, too! And look, our girl is just about barefoot again." "And how did you tear that dress; you shouldn't do that, when everything is so dear; you should take the greatest care; here is a little piece of meat; look at it, it costs so much and it is nothing but bone; that flour, a fifty-pound sack, costs four dollars. Think what that means for us! . . ."

Those are some of the complaints which the gentlemen of the commission do not hear daily, and that is why they are so slow. . . .

MARIE S——.[1]

How is the man who speaks English imperfectly, or not at all, who never will and never can express himself adequately in anything but his mother tongue—how is this man to know America? How is America to know him?

This volume is mainly concerned with getting an adequate statement of this problem. The work which has been undertaken by the Inter-Racial Council, under the direction of Miss Frances Kellor, and by the Red Cross Foreign Language Information Service, under the direction of Miss Josephine Roche, are hopeful experiments, and indicate, it seems to me, the direction in which we may look for a solution.

They themselves, however, are not the solution; and it may be well at this point to indicate where they fall short of it.

DEFECTS IN THE ALLIANCE

The work that the Red Cross has undertaken to do seems to be essentially a public function. It is doubt-

[1] Foreign Language Governmental Information Service, in *Bureau Bulletin No. 6*, October, 1919.

ful whether a private organization can carry on permanently a task which so manifestly belongs to the Federal government, and which is performed by the government for English-language papers.

On the other hand, it seems to the author that the Inter-Racial Council is attempting the manifestly impossible. It proposes to reform the foreign-language press by controlling its advertising; to force its evolution to the form attained by the American press.

The successful American newspaper is the result of many forces, interacting over a long period of time. The more important of these are the news, partisan, and intellectual interests of readers, the curiously mixed financial and sentimental interests of the advertisers, the profit seeking and the human limitations of manager and staff. These and other forces produce the newspaper as we know it, which is in unstable equilibrium, changing as they change. The working balance has been built up very gradually. Managers have learned the value for securing advertising, of a guaranteed circulation, a fixed scale of rates, and definite classes of readers. The readers have been secured by the various news and editorial policies. The advertiser picks his papers for prospective returns from certain groups of readers. According to his temperament he is influenced by a paper's attitude toward his own cherished predilections. The newspaper manager is always trying to strike the balance most profitable to himself between all these factors.

Many years of experiment by the trial-and-error method, with these conscious and unconscious motives, these deliberate and spontaneous actions, has given us the English-language newspaper of to-day.

This report has shown that the foreign-language newspapers are in a very early stage of this development. Yet the Inter-Racial Council would require of

them the business standards of the English-language papers. In addition, Mr. Du Pont expects them to present the industrial and political ideas of the advertisers. The question is whether an immature press will attach to these business standards and to the predilections of advertisers the importance which they have attained in the more mature papers.

Moreover, will the owners of this advertising agency, which admits having other than trade interest, be satisfied with the rate at which their efforts can transform the immigrant press? Will they limit their influence to the kind which they exercise over the English-language papers? That is, will they be content to control the immigrant press only to the extent and in the way that business can control the native press?

Present conflicts within the Inter-Racial Council indicate that the owners of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers find it difficult to agree on their method of operation. This may be because they are trying to establish an artificial rather than a natural relation with these papers. If even these American business men disagree, how much more difficult will it be for them to establish effective relations with a group whose points of view and experience are still more diverse?

This plan to influence the editorial, advertising, and business standards of the foreign-language press from a point of view beyond the experience of the immigrant editor, would be splendid if it would work. But, in the matter of standards, particularly in the matter of standards, immigrants and their editors, like other people, prefer to make their own. They may be raised, no doubt will be but it is a long process. It is my conviction that the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers will succeed in its present task, if it succeeds at all, only by abandoning its role

of professional Americanizer and becoming merely a business organization for buying the advertising space of the immigrant press at what it is worth to the advertiser. As the publisher gradually discovers what establishes this value, the advertiser's standards will gain a share in the control of the immigrant press.

There is much concern in certain of our intellectual circles in regard to the so-called capitalistic press, and the sinister influence which it is supposed to exert upon popular opinion. The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is in the hands of a group of capitalists. Fears have already been expressed, in some of the radical papers, that the immigrant press will now be subjected to these same sinister influences.[1]

No one knows better, however, than those who have tried, how difficult it is to promote an unpopular cause. The history of the brewers' antiprohibition campaign illustrates the point.

The newspaper that tries to propagate opinions distasteful to the majority of its audience cannot live, even on subventions. It is not sufficient that a newspaper be printed; it must also circulate. A newspaper that has no circulation is not a newspaper, no matter how often it is printed. People will not read a paper with which they continuously disagree. In the long run, the newspaper expresses, rather than creates, public opinion.

The optimistic feature of the present situation is that the American people and the American press are beginning to take notice of the foreign-language papers; that their opinions upon questions in which they are more deeply concerned than the rest of America, are now discussed and quoted. These things indicate a

[1] New York *Call*, December 16, 1919.

significant change in the attitude of the American public.[1]

If immigrant editors and readers know that their paper is read outside its own language group; that America is interested in what it says and takes account of its opinions—that very fact establishes a measure of control.

The United States has made a positive advance in its relations to the immigrant press when the Post Office "censors" it in the same manner that it does other papers; when one Americanization organization advertises in it, and another furnishes it with news about the government. Natural, rather than arbitrary, control is being established through these relationships; a control compatible with the conclusions essential to the life of the press.

A survey, both in this country and abroad, of the press supported by the language groups which supply the majority of our immigrants, shows these groups to be everywhere engaged in a struggle for existence as distinct racial and cultural groups. Formally, this is a struggle to preserve the racial mother tongues, and to make the speech of the common man a written as well as a spoken language. Intrinsically it is a struggle of peoples, culturally isolated, to preserve their own cultural inheritances and at the same time, through the medium of the language that they know best, to gain access to the cosmopolitan culture of Europe and the world. It is, to state it generally, a struggle to get into the great society, to enter into and participate in the conscious life of the race. The most important instrument of this movement is the press.

In America, the immigrant wants to preserve, as far as possible, his heritages from the old country. These

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[1] *Literary Digest*, September 18, 1920.

are represented pre-eminently by his language and his religion. At the same time he wants to participate in the common life and find a place in the American community. In these two motives we have at once the problem of the foreign-language press and its solution.

The immigrant's language, like his memories, is part of his personality. These are not baggage that he can lose *en route* to his destination. Furthermore, it is not always desirable, even if it were possible, to extirpate or suppress these heritages. This is the ultimate aim of the suggestions, mentioned earlier, for taxing or otherwise penalizing the foreign-language papers. There is danger of imposing upon candidates for citizenship conditions that they cannot fulfill. The aim of Americanization is not the subjugation, but the assimilation, of the immigrant. Assimilation takes place more readily when there are no mental conflicts and new relationships breed new loyalties from the old heritages.

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